

### **Security Accord With Afghanistan Viewed**

*NC0112160493 Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 23 Nov 93 p 1*

[Text] Reporting on the security agreement between Egypt and Afghanistan, REUTER noted that Egypt has convinced the Afghan Government to sign the agreement in an attempt to confront the extremists, who have been using Afghanistan as a staging point to launch their operations against Egypt and the Arab world.

Citing the report, sources said the agreement will remain ink on paper due to obstacles impeding its implementation. The sources noted that the agreement has been opposed by the leaders of the powerful Afghan parties led by Prime Minister Golboddin Hekmatyar, who refuses to hand over the Arabs who had fought on their side against the Soviet occupation for 10 years.

The sources pointed out that Egyptian extremist leaders intend to leave for Europe or to any other nearby place where they can operate. The report said that Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani, whose visit to Egypt was given prominence by the Egyptian media, has limited influence in Afghanistan. The report noted that Rabbani and Hekmatyar received Hasan al-Turabi, leader of the Islamic Front in Sudan, upon Rabbani's return from Egypt.

Citing security sources, the report affirmed that the Egyptian extremists continue to enjoy the protection of the Afghan factions. The report said that hundreds of Arab extremists moved from Pakistan to Afghanistan early this year when Pakistan was pressured by the United States and Egypt to curb the extremists' activities.

The report said that a leader of the al-Jihad group has recently been granted a residence permit in Denmark. The report also noted that Ayman al-Zawahiri is currently residing in Switzerland pending approval of his request for political asylum.

### **'Tension' Among Hekmatyar's 'Ringleaders' Noted**

*LD0112173393 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 1 Dec 93*

[Text] A militia ringleader belonging to Hekmatyar's party was killed in the area of Tagab district as a result of blows dealt by the Islamic Army. Quoting a responsible source for the country's security forces, a BIA correspondent reported that Qadir, a ringleader of Hekmatyar's militia, was driving to the battlefield along with 50 passengers. He was killed as a result of an attack by the Islamic Army. Some 12 passengers were severely wounded. Their vehicle was destroyed.

According to another report, a group of Hekmatyar's militia, headed by Captain Aman—after suffering 100 dead and wounded and the capture of another nine—fled from Tagab district. The report adds that another Hekmatyar ringleader, Zardad, prevented the retreat of Captain Aman's troops. This action has caused tension between the ringleaders of Hekmatyar's party.

### **Hekmatyar's View of Country's Future Decried**

*LD2911215393 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 29 Nov 93*

[BAKHTAR INFORMATION AGENCY commentary]

[Text] What sort of a future does Afghanistan have from Golboddin Hekmatyar's viewpoint? What does the amir of Hezb-e Eslami [Islamic Party of Afghanistan] want? A BIA political commentator writes in this regard:

The plans, views, and proposals of Golboddin Hekmatyar are indicative of his aims for the future of our country. During the last one and a half years Hezb-e Eslami has several times engaged in war against the Islamic State of Afghanistan. The first proposal of the amir of that Hezb [party], after the [establishment] of the Islamic government, was the dismemberment of the Islamic Army. His forces looted the military units and companies in areas under his control and used their military equipment against the Islamic state. From Golboddin Hekmatyar's viewpoint, all those work in the Army and state apparatus are rejected and replaceable.

The amir of Hezb-e Eslami believes that all the people should be armed and military centralization, which constitutes the foundation of every Army, should be disbanded. He, therefore, insists the posts of the Defense and Interior Ministries should remain without a minister and, in the most critical conditions of the country, the system of leadership of the Armed Forces be disrupted. Professional and expert individuals are not important to Golboddin Hekmatyar.

He, who tries to destroy the country's economy, insists that professional people should be dismissed and simultaneously, after the destruction of the economic system of the country during the past battles, now uses the road communications between Kabul and Jalalabad which are under the control of his forces, and the electricity dams, against the Islamic state as political tools.

One of the most fundamental problems faced by the people, the shortage of foodstuff, is due to taxes that Golboddin Hekmatyar's forces extract from transport vehicles along the Kabul-Jalalabad highway.

Golboddin Hekmatyar who, in the opinion of those watching the affairs of Afghanistan and politicians of our own country, is a defeated prime minister, now insists, through illogical proposals, to create a vacuum of power and for whom which the national interests of our country are not important, insists that the security organs of the country—who are in charge of safeguarding order and security—should be disbanded and criticizes the printing of bank notes and the Afghan currency, which is being carried out through legal ways. However, he, who is fighting against the state sovereignty by spending large amounts of money and employs mercenaries, consider himself blameless and does not want to answer anyone regarding this expenditure and the sources of its finance.

It can be easily understood as to what sort of Afghanistan will be there for Golboddin Hekmatyar in the future, and what he wants from the war-weary Afghans by his sort of proposals.

## **Report on Clashes in Kabul Refuted**

*LD0112165793 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 1 Dec 93*

[Text] The so-called Message of Freedom TV belonging to Hezb-e Eslami-e Hekmatyar issued a fabricated report yesterday evening concerning clashes in Kabul city. A BAKHTAR military correspondent contacted the Ministry of Defense and the general command of Kabul garrison in this connection. Those sources rejected the news item of Message of Freedom TV and stated that no armed clash has taken place in the city center. The broadcasting of such falsehoods is part of the propaganda program of Golboddin Hekmatyar.

## **\* Mas'ud-Dostam Disagreement on 'Afghan Arabs' Detailed**

*94P50044A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 23 Nov 93 p 4*

[Text] Kabul, London—Two of the strongest Afghan factional leaders are making preparations for a struggle with each other after the alliance which has linked them for two years was shaken because of a conflict over "the Afghan Arabs."

General 'Abdol-Rashid Dostam, the Uzbek leader, warned Ahmad Shah Mas'ud that he must withdraw from the Uzbek territories that he occupies in the Konduz district in northeast Afghanistan. Dostam stated in his message to Mas'ud, "We are on one side, and one should not take any of the land of the other, but should unite against the enemies of Afghanistan."

Sources near Mas'ud said that his forces occupy a strip of land in Konduz district in readiness for attacks to be launched on one of prime minister-designee Hekmatyar Golboddin's Hezb-e Eslami strongholds. Golboddin is operating from a base near Kabul.

According to sources near Mas'ud, the small part of Konduz occupied by Hekmatyar has become a refuge for the Afghan Arabs. It is thought that there are 300 Egyptian, Algerian, Sudanese, Jordanian, and Yemeni Afghans at a base which Mas'ud hopes to capture soon. In order for this attack to succeed, Mas'ud's forces need to use a piece of land which is under the control of some of Dostam's Uzbeks. Reports received last week stated that Dostam himself is thinking of attacking the pocket occupied by the Arab "Afghans," occupying it, and then using it as a bargaining chip to obtain international recognition for his position in Afghanistan.

## **Gaylani Meets Islamic Movement Chiefs, Baghlan Governor**

*LD0112184193 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 1 Dec 93*

[Text] Esteemed Pir Sayyed Ahmad Gaylani, the leader of Mahaz-e Meli-ye Eslami-ye Afghanistan [National Islamic Front of Afghanistan] today met at his residence with Esteemed General Rahmatollah Raufi and Esteemed Gen. Hamayun Pawzi, deputy leaders of the National Islamic Movement [of Gen. Abdol Rashid Dostam], and the governor of Baghlan Esteemed Gen. Sayed Jafar Naderi. At the meeting, which was attended by some generals, topics of interest were discussed.

## **Structure, Activity of Egyptian Islamist Groups Described**

*NC2911163593 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 27 Nov 93 p 12*

[Report from Cairo by Amin Radwan]

[Text] One of the most important topics featured in the recent Egyptian-Afghan talks in Cairo between President

Husni Mubarak and his Afghan counterpart Borhanoddin Rabbani was the issue of the Egyptian Islamist groups in Afghanistan and cooperation between the two countries to deal with these groups and restrict their activity.

When the activity of the Islamists began growing in Egypt, Cairo was not aware of the size of these groups in Afghanistan, the nature of their role, their relationship with the Afghan parties, and the extent of their connection with the regional and international intelligence services operating among them. But over the past two years, and after the "returnees from Afghanistan" groups were tried before military courts, and in the wake of the testimonies they gave, stunning facts were revealed to the Egyptian investigation authorities, among the most important of which was the role of regional and international services in reorganizing these groups after the end of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and giving them new roles to play.

In light of these facts, Egypt submitted 13 requests to the Afghan authorities to surrender to it 267 Egyptians whom the Egyptian security services termed a "dangerous group." They represent the leaders of the Afghan Egyptian groups, which include over 1,200 members.

These facts were contained in a special file prepared by the Egyptian security services which was placed before the Afghan president during his talks with Mubarak. The file indicated that the Egyptian formations currently in Afghanistan are divided into several groups. The most important of these is the one called in Afghanistan the "Regional Group," which includes Shawqi al-Islambuli, Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, 'Abduh Zakariya, 'Abd-al-Mut'ali Husayn, Ibrahim al-Fazzan, Sayyid 'Ubayd al-Mukhtar, 'Ali al-Sharuni, Muhammad Bakhit 'Abd-al-Rida, 'Abdallah Muhammadayn 'Uways, Fu'ad Radwan al-Maytami, Salih Khalil Hasan, Hasanayn al-Najar Muhammad, Rabi' Rikabi Musa, Ahmad Ibrahim Mansur, Jamal 'Awad, al-'Arabi Tariq al-Fatih, and Muhammad Jalal Badrawi.

The Egyptian security services have attributed to the "Egyptian Regional Group" the implementation of 15 "terrorist" incidents in Egypt through some 350 elements it leads. They say that these elements receive financial and military support from Iranian services and some wealthy Gulf figures.

This group has split from a larger group known as the "al-Da'wah and al-Shari'ah Group," which was formed by the Pakistani security services after the departure of the Soviets from Afghanistan. They gave it a new role, which is to support the leader of the Hezb-i-Islami leader Golboddin Hekmatyar, an opponent of the Afghan president.

During the Afghan-Russian war, the "al-Da'wah and al-Shari'ah Group" represented the mother organization of all the Afghan Arabs and Muslims from the European countries. It received direct support from the American.

British, French, and Israeli intelligence services, and its operations were called "stars operations."

According to the Egyptian file on these groups, some 800 Egyptians operate under the command of Shawqi al-Islambuli and Ayman al-Zawahiri. The number of Algerians is about 700, Tunisians 400, Iraqis 370, Yemenis 300, Libyans 200, Sudanese 150, about 100 from the Gulf, and 70 from European countries. These constitute the main groups of the "Afghan Arab mujahidin."

As a result of the differences that broke out among the regional and international security services on how to use these groups after the Russian departure from Afghanistan, Pakistan discovered that the American security services wanted to exploit these groups to undermine the situation in Afghanistan and form a large military group to support Golboddin Hekmatyar and Abdul Rasul Sayyaf against Afghan Defense Minister Ahmed Masud and Borhanoddin Rabbani.

According to Egyptian security sources, Pakistan learned the details of this American plan and warned leaders of the al-Da'wah and al-Shari'ah Group so that they would foil it. The major split within the group took place after that, resulting in a halt to the "stars operations" after the end of the Afghan-Russian war. But Pakistan wanted to foil the American plan so that it could play a regional role in Afghanistan. After the failure of the "stars operations," Pakistan embarked on the reformation of some "Afghan Arab mujahidin" groups so that they would play a role on its behalf, away from the joint American-Western-Israeli role. It established six camps for special training in Peshawar. But the problem that faced the Pakistanis in 1988 was that they discovered nine other camps for these groups in Peshawar under the supervision of the Americans themselves.

According to Egyptian security sources, 400 Egyptians were trained by the Americans in Peshawar. From them, American intelligence formed the "special or private action" group. Pakistan managed to solve the problem by forming "its own front of Afghan Arab mujahidin of various nationalities, calling it 'the Islamic Group [quotation marks as published]. Some 90 Egyptians joined the group, which Pakistan tried to use to deal a blow to the American-sponsored 'special action' group. The first bloody confrontation between the two groups took place in 1990; 10 Egyptians and 40 other nationals were killed.

The sources say that Iran was aware of the struggle between Pakistani and international security agencies, and of the ideological differences among the Afghan Arab mujahidin themselves. It intervened in a unique way, with which those mujahidin, who worked for Islamic internationalism, were unfamiliar. Iran called for the formation of the so-called "regional groups;" that is, each group from a certain Arab or Islamic country organized itself under leadership from the same country. Thus, the "Egyptian Regional Group," the Algerian Regional Group," the Yemeni Regional Group," and so on, were formed. The Afghan Arab mujahidin largely responded to the Iranian call because of the differences among them, thanks to the invasion of foreign agencies.

The Egyptian security sources express astonishment that the Iranians succeeded in forming those groups without providing them with any financial or military support. Egyptian security services identified 134 Gulf figures supporting these groups; they estimate that the Egyptian group received \$150 million from those figures. The security services laid their hands on \$30 million deposited in Egyptian banks in the name of some recently

arrested individuals. About \$15 million worth of light weapons and ammunition have also been seized.

The Egyptian security agencies conclude that there is a relationship between those Gulf figures and the Iranian security services. They also conclude that the identified Gulf financiers are willing to play a role in other Arab countries, like Egypt. The conclusion is substantiated by the fact that 65 of those Gulf figures have trade and financial links with the United States and Europe. [More than 80 joint trade and financial projects between those figures and a number of financial and economic institutions in Europe and the United States were identified. These institutions, nonetheless, prefer to deal with Iran when it comes to the policies of the region and the financing of the Islamic groups in the Arab countries.

Egypt's security sources did not list the names of any of these figures other than those who were mentioned during the interrogation of the groups that returned from Afghanistan and were brought to trial in Egypt recently, such as Usamah Bin-Ladin and his brother Khalid, who owns a farm in the al-Nubariyah area near Alexandria. But the Gulf countries denied any involvement. In the contacts that Egypt had held with these countries, and despite the files it presented to them on the activities of these figures in financing the Islamic groups and the confessions of the defendants in these cases, the Gulf countries, led by Saudi Arabia, denied in their replies to Egypt any involvement at any time up till last month. But it is known that there are the so-called "Brotherhood Groups" [Jama'at al-Ukhwwah] in these countries that collect contributions in mosques for the Arab mujahidin. These groups have great financial influence inside the Gulf countries. The mechanism for collecting funds for the mujahidin, and for the "Eritrean Islamic Jihad" organization recently, is to call for contributions in the mosques under the very nose of the Gulf countries' governments. A higher committee collects these funds and then distributes them according to its own priorities. With the exception of the special funds that the Gulf governments donated to the Afghan mujahidin and the ones being given to the Bosnian Muslims, none of these countries has sought, either directly or indirectly, to allocate official funds for supporting the Islamists in the Arab countries.

In view of the Gulf countries' denial, the Egyptian Government had no choice but to follow another course to halt the flow of Gulf funds to the Islamic organizations. It turned toward Afghanistan so as to convince its leadership to hand over the members of the Egyptian regional group. Egypt gave Afghanistan in the past three months four lists of people and asked for their extradition to the security organs in Egypt. But Kabul denied that they were in its territories even though the Egyptian security forces had pinpointed their whereabouts in the central areas of Afghanistan which are under the control of Golboddin Hekmatyar and said they were operating with the Hezb-e Ettihad-e Islami [Islamic Unity Party]. The Afghan president stressed in his recent talks with the Egyptian president that he could not control the Egyptian groups operating with Hekmatyar or those operating within the "Special Action" group that is under U.S. control.

Egyptian officials have repeatedly asked Washington to stop dealing with the "Special Action" group, but U.S. officials have completely denied having any ties with the group and also stressed to Cairo that the Egyptians operating with them in Afghanistan and Pakistan belong to groups that are seeking to know the activities of the anti-U.S. groups.

According to Egyptian sources, the Americans have not paid much attention to the Egyptian insistence, even during President Mubarak's recent visit to Washington where U.S. officials insisted on their stand. This created differences between the two sides over the issue of security cooperation in combating "regional terrorism." In the end, Cairo accepted this cooperation following Washington's economic pressures, but kept it as a formality.

Rabbani told Dr. Usamah al-Baz, first Foreign Ministry under secretary and director of the President's Office for Political Affairs, during the latter's undisclosed visit to Afghanistan two months ago, that there were no regional or international intelligence activities over Afghan territories.

A senior security official, who refused to divulge his name, said that solving the problem of the Islamists' leaders abroad needs extensive Egyptian diplomatic action. The decision to open an Egyptian embassy in Kabul could perhaps be part of this action.

The official added that Pakistan had responded in the past few months to the Egyptian demands. It expelled the Egyptian groups from its territories but refused to hand them over to Egypt's authorities. Hekmatyar enrolled them in his ranks and set up a new camp for them in the area under his control.

Egypt and Afghanistan had agreed to draw up an agreement on the exchange of "political and other criminals" but its implementation was delayed for more than seven months and was only initiated during Rabbani's recent visit to Cairo. Egypt's Foreign Ministry regarded this as a major diplomatic achievement. . . .

FBIS 12/2

## Immigration tightened at Pak-Afghan border

PT 12/21

PESHAWAR, Dec. 20: The government has tightened the immigration process on Pak-Afghan border to curb the illegal flow between the two neighbouring countries. In this connection, the passengers travelling between Afghanistan and Pakistan say that the Pakistani officials at the border have imposed immigration restrictions at Torkham for the past one week.

Hundreds of passengers are daily travelling between Kabul and Peshawar for the past one and half year. However, these passengers say that for the past one week the Pakistani officials at Torkham border have adopted tight measures and identifying every passenger who leave or enters the country.

The Hizbi-Islami (Hekmatyar) office in Peshawar has also reported that the Pakistani authorities have adopted the measures to check the entry of those Pakistanis to Afghanistan. An official at the Afghan Consulate in Peshawar said that as Pakistan and Afghanistan were two separate countries, therefore, the visitors should undergo the legal process of immigration.—NNI

resorted to this step after consulting the Afghan government.

Previously the travellers between the two countries were not required to produce documents of identification nor were they asked about their visit. Quoting the Pakistani Home Ministry officials, the Hizbi-Islami office has reported that the objective behind the move was to tighten security on the Pakistani side of the Durand Line. However, the government sources say that the authorities wanted to check crossing over to Afghanistan by Pakistani nationals without any legal documents.

The Afghan government had, at the request of the Pakistan Government released and sent back to Peshawar those 16 Pakistanis last month who were arrested in Kabul on the charge of not having legal documents for visiting purpose. Pakistan Government also wants to check the entry of Arab nationals to Afghanistan. An official at the Afghan Consulate in Peshawar said that as Pakistan and Afghanistan were two separate countries, therefore, the visitors should undergo the legal process of immigration.—NNI

## The onus on Afghan leadership

PT 11/16

As an immediate neighbour, Pakistan cannot afford to be unmindful of what is happening in Afghanistan. It was therefore natural and understandable that Prime Minister Mohiaddin Bonazir Bhutto expressed her serious concern at the lingering civil strife in Kabul and elsewhere during her talks with the visiting Afghan President, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, in Islamabad on Sunday. She urged Prof. Rabbani to fully utilise his personal stature and influence to remove the differences among Afghan leaders. Mohiaddin Bonazir Bhutto also expressed her deep anguish at the heavy loss of life caused by factional fighting. As a gesture of goodwill, she announced a donation of Rs. 100 million and 10,000 tons of sugar for the people of the brotherly country. Further, she assured President Rabbani that Pakistan would support the programme of reconstruction in Afghanistan by supplying essential goods and medicines, providing assistance in the repair of roads and telecommunications, and granting scholarships for Afghan students together with books and uniforms. She also proposed the setting up of a joint commission to promote cooperation between the two countries in all fields. On his part, the Afghan President expressed grave concern at the worsening situation in Occupied Kashmir and said that his country has already lodged a protest with the Indian government against the continuing siege of Hazratbal shrine.

It is, indeed, tragic that Afghanistan has not been able to regain peace and normalcy even four years after the withdrawal of foreign occupation forces. The frequent outbreaks of infighting, mostly in Kabul, have seriously obstructed the country's advance towards national consensus and reconciliation, political stability, institution of a government enjoying a popular mandate, and the expeditious return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland. The sad fact is that the Islamabad and Jalalabad accords stipulated the restoration of normalcy and civilian rule but no worthwhile headway has been made as yet towards their implementation. The infighting is mainly attributable to sectarian and tribal animosities and the power tussle among various Afghan factions. Unless the Afghan leaders rise above their personal and clan interests and resolve the internal rifts and dissensions through tolerance and accommodation, the evolution of a viable and stable civilian administration will remain an empty dream. What they need to do at the moment is to agree on an equitable power-sharing formula as a prelude to the installation of a democratically elected government. It is hoped that all Afghan factions and clans will bury the hatchet for good and work in unison for the ultimate good of their country.

From "Stoked by Ethnic Conflict, Refugee Numbers Swell" by Paul Lewis, NYT 11/10:

Iran is currently granting asylum to the largest number of refugees in the world, a total of 4.1 million, including 2.9 million Afghans and 1.2 million dissident Iraqi Kurds and Shiite Muslims. It is followed by Pakistan with 1.6 million Afghans.

The report highlights the growing reluctance of industrialized countries, to accept refugees, listing Austria, Canada, Germany, the United States and Britain among countries that are tightening asylum laws.

# Drilling for High Stakes in a Post-Communist World

By Steve Coll

Washington Post Foreign Service

**T**he "elephant hunters," so named in the oil industry because they explore for mammoth riches, prefer the Dostyk Hotel, a hilltop tower once an exclusive retreat of the Soviet Communist Party and now a nexus of post-Communist Central Asia's frontier rush for oil wealth.

Downstairs, an itinerant American chef cooks up \$12 hamburgers while sultry Kazakh waitresses pour Scotch at a refurbished bar. Below the hill, a couple of Texans have entered a joint venture to open the Mirage casino and saloon, where locals fortunate enough to have dollars to lose are free to do so until 4 a.m.

But the big money is being gambled these days beyond Alma-Ata's city limits, across the desolate steppes toward the Caspian Sea, where several dozen international oil companies are drilling, exploring or developing bids for what is universally agreed to be a mother lode of oil—enough by some estimates to catapult the newly independent and geopolitically fragile nation of Kazakhstan well into the top 10 of world oil powers.

"All we need is infrastructure and this could truly turn into the new Kuwait," enthuses J. Steve Wagner Jr., a Dostyk Hotel regular who is regional director of Oryx Energy Co., a large Dallas-based oil firm.

Some geologists think that's stretching the point—Kazakhstan's proven oil reserves so far are no more than a quarter of Kuwait's. But world-class prospects such as the Tengiz oil field, which Chevron Corp. has agreed to develop in a \$20 billion, 40-year deal, have put the elephant hunters in a game mood. There is much yet to be learned, they say, about what bubbles beneath this vast castoff of the Soviet empire and its neighbors.

A few hundred years ago, the expanse of windswept land from the Caspian to China's northwestern Xinjiang Province was bound by nomadic poverty, sporadic wars and the competition of Ottoman, Persian and Russian empires. With the fall of Soviet communism, ancient geopolitical competitions are in some respects being resurrected, but with a 20th-century twist: the lure of oil, with all its implications of wealth, power and economic independence.

At the center of the present deal-making and intrigue lies Kazakhstan, which even by the lowest estimates of its potential oil reserves is a prize. "It's a big prize [with] all kinds of political ramifications," says Edward J. Krappels, president of the Washington consulting firm Energy Security Analysis Inc. "I picture them being where the Saudis were 50 years ago."

Nor is Kazakhstan the only such prize unveiled by the collapse of the Soviet Union and Central Asia's opening to the world economy. Newly independent Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan have sizable proven deposits of oil and gas and are inviting Western companies to search for more, both on land and beneath the Caspian Sea, where some geologists believe large discoveries are yet to be made.

Azerbaijan is believed to have at least 5 billion barrels of oil and Turkmenistan another 4.5 billion, according to Joseph P. Riva Jr. of the U.S. Congressional Research Service. Turkmenistan is thought also to hold more than 350 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. At least 180 trillion cubic feet of gas is believed to lie beneath Uzbekistan, which may also have several billion barrels of oil, according to Riva's estimates, which are conservative compared with some cited by major oil companies.

On the eastern side of the Central Asian steppes, in China's remote Tarim basin near the border with the former Soviet Union, Western oil companies led by Amoco Corp. and British

Petroleum Corp. are gushing over Beijing's recent decision to invite outside help to develop oil reserves that some geologists and Western oil companies believe may be even larger than those in Kazakhstan and the Caspian Sea. At Amoco, recent internal estimates of the Tarim basin's reserves have "ranged from pretty big to extremely large," says group vice president J.C. Burton. "It's just big numbers."

Who wins and who loses on this post-Cold War oil frontier will help determine, among other things, which of the former Soviet Union's southern Muslim republics can best fund economic

recovery and growth, which are likely to attract attention from global and regional military powers—and whether energy-poor China can fuel its accelerating drive toward full industrialization, according to oil company executives, government officials, political analysts, diplomats and others involved.

**ONE CONSEQUENCE IS ALREADY APPARENT: COUNTRIES** such as Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan have concluded that they must have Western help if they are to get their oil out of the ground and profitably off to sea. This has fostered a rapid warming in relations between key former Soviet Muslim republics and the West, government officials and diplomats say. Similarly in China, the need for outside help to develop the massive but remote Tarim basin has become another significant strand in the web of interdependence between Beijing and the West, they say.

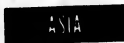
In the oil industry itself, the Central Asian boom reflects a global trend. Amid the worldwide embrace of free-market economics, dozens of countries have abandoned policies of strict state control over natural resources and have thrown open their doors to Western oil companies for the first time in decades.

From the coastal waters of Vietnam and West Africa to the plains of Siberia to the jungles of Colombia and Peru, companies ranging from the largest U.S. and European oil multinationals to the smallest Texas wildcaters are bidding for leases and negotiating for production deals in territory long closed to Western firms. Chastened by past exploration failures and soft world oil prices, many of the biggest companies prefer to enter these virgin areas by developing proven fields in promising territory and then looking for new finds, as is Chevron's strategy in Kazakhstan. But others, such as France's Elf Aquitaine, are searching more boldly for undiscovered elephants.

"The whole world's open for business," says Mike Scrutton, marketing manager for Simon Petroleum Technology Ltd., Britain's leading oil exploration consulting firm. "I've been in the oil business quite a while and I've never seen anything like it."

Surveying this worldwide "embarrassment of riches," as Scrutton terms it, most leading Western exploration and production companies have concluded that the biggest new plays of the post-Cold War world lie in Central Asia, where the potential rewards are seen as greatest—and where the risks are unusually high. The risks stem from conundrums of political geography. The Caspian Sea basin is said by Kazakh government officials and Western geologists to hold a minimum of 15 billion to 50 billion barrels of oil, and possibly much more. But no matter how much oil is eventually discovered, it will have little value if it cannot be transported profitably to hard currency markets, either in the West or in Asia.

Indeed, this basic problem—how to get Central Asia's underground wealth out of the isolated steppes—is emerging as the region's vital challenge in the next decade, many involved in the region's diplomacy and oil development say. Central Asia's poor, multi-ethnic and fragile new countries desperately need the



hard currency offered by oil and gas sales if they are to build stable societies from the wreckage of communism.

But solving the transport problem ultimately will require cooperation among the new republics, the regional powers that surround them and the Western multinationals whose capital will be at risk in the Caspian oil fields. Iran, Turkey, Armenia, Georgia, Russia and China—which lie between the Caspian oil basin and potential hard currency markets—all have an interest in how this transport challenge is met. So do the United States, Europe and Japan.

And here, of late, is where the plot has begun to thicken.

**IN WASHINGTON'S BLAIR HOUSE ON THE EVENING OF May 18, 1992,** beneath crystal chandeliers and amid the flash of cameras, a remarkable group of political bedfellows announced the initial agreement to develop and export Kazakhstan's Caspian basin oil reserves.

Among the bankers, government officials and lawyers around the podium were Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, a former Communist turned free-market nationalist, Chevron Corp. chief executive Kenneth T. Derr, and John Deuss, an international oil trader whose long and controversial career has led him lately to partnership with the Sultanate of Oman, an Arab kingdom at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

How Deuss and Oman have become involved in the multi-billion-dollar deal between Kazakhstan and Chevron offers a window on the complex game afoot over Central Asia's oil resources, a contest in which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between business and political interests, according to those involved.

To understand the complexities, look at a map. To move oil from the Caspian Sea to ports or markets where hard currency is available, the options are few. While Chevron has finalized its contract with Kazakhstan, no decision has been made about how to get the newly developed oil out of the Central Asian steppes.

One method would be to construct a pipeline from the north side of the Caspian across Russia to the northeastern shore of the Black Sea, then load the oil on ships and send it through Turkey's Bosphorus Straits into the Mediterranean. A second way would be to run the line briefly through Iran, Armenia or Georgia and then across Turkey to the Mediterranean. A third choice would be to run a pipeline straight south through Iran to the Persian Gulf. A fourth possibility, regarded as the most quixotic, would be to turn the pipeline east, sending it through Afghanistan to a Pakistani port on the Arabian Sea.

"There are proposals—more and more every day," says Richard H. Matzke, president of Chevron Overseas Petroleum Inc., the unit involved in the Kazakhstan deal. But after committing such large sums, Chevron's biggest concern remains today, Matzke says, "How do we get [the oil] out? Will there be a border we consider a safe border?"

**ENTER OMAN, A FORMER British** protectorate with good ties to the West, which for decades has played a behind-the-scenes role as an interlocutor between the West and the Islamic world. Lacking large oil

reserves of its own but intimately entwined with the Persian Gulf's oil-driven political economy, Oman first joined discussions about Kazakhstan's oil reserves in 1988, when then-Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was looking for ways to develop Central Asia's underground wealth while limiting involvement by the Soviet Union's large and religiously radical southern neighbor, Iran.

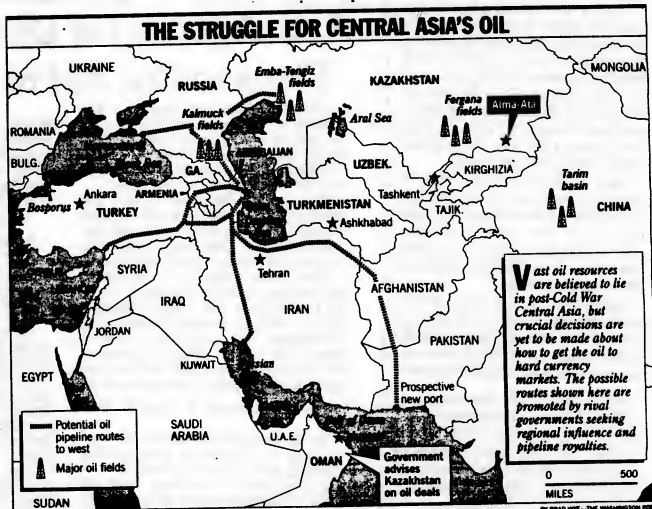
As the Soviet Union fell apart, Oman—led by oil trader Deuss and his advisers—parlayed its place at the geopolitical table into a lucrative business arrangement. With Western bankers and lawyers, the Omani government advised Kazakhstan in the Chevron negotiations. It assured Alma-Ata's inexperienced negotiators that the final terms of the Tengiz contract were fair, helped to prepare further deals with other oil companies and earned what a diplomat involved called "millions and millions and millions of dollars" in commissions.

Oman also became involved in the question of transport: Last year, it joined the Caspian Pipeline

of these Western firms are Amoco, British Petroleum, and Unocal Corp., which have joined a consortium to develop an estimated 1.8 billion barrel offshore oil field in Azerbaijan's portion of the Caspian Sea.

In Kazakhstan, France's state-owned Elf Aquitaine has leased a large onshore exploration tract near the Caspian, while giants Mobil Corp. and Royal Dutch/Shell Oil Co. are negotiating for similar opportunities, according to Kazakh government and oil industry officials. And there is much more to come—13 Western oil companies bought geological data for exploration bids on Kazakhstan's next available onshore leases, and some 30 Western oil companies recently were invited to Texas to hear a pitch by Alma-Ata officials about the potential riches beneath the Caspian itself.

The U.S. government has no special interest in which parties grow rich from particular deals, according to officials involved, but for strategic reasons, it wants to see a pipeline routed so as to avoid Iran. That much, many involved agree, has now



consortium, whose other partners are the governments of Kazakhstan, Russia and Azerbaijan. The group is determined to develop a pipeline that would send the Caspian oil across Russia to the Black Sea—leaving Iran out. It recently announced it has hired the U.S.-based Bechtel Corp. to conduct a feasibility study.

Potentially, such a pipeline system would carry not just Chevron's production from the Tengiz field, but also oil that other Western multinationals hope to develop in the Caspian region. Among the largest

been accomplished. "There's been a decision against any Iranian deal," says a U.S. official.

"The U.S. government at the highest levels made sure that that was the way this thing happened," says a Western adviser involved. "That was no accident."

The Caspian pipeline deal is far from complete, however, and new complications are arising. There are disputes about divvying up the riches. Chevron, for example, is not altogether happy about how Oman has leveraged its way into the Caspian arrangements. Besides advising



Kazakhstan and joining the pipeline consortium, the Oman Oil Co. has secured a lease for exploration on 6,000 acres of Kazakh territory near Chevron's fields. That makes Oman a competitor as well as a broker.

Another problem is Russia, which must agree to royalty, equity and right-of-way deals for the proposed pipeline. But Moscow is riven by the power struggle between President Boris Yeltsin and his foes, and challenged by provincial and regional authorities in the south who demand a share of control and profit from projects such as the pipeline.

And then there is Turkey, whose Western-oriented government feels it has a greater claim to involvement in Central Asian oil arrangements than, say, Oman. Most Central Asians are Turkic—ethnic, linguistic and cultural cousins of the Turks—and Ankara has been energetically developing commercial, political and cultural links with the former Soviet republics since communism collapsed. Yet Turkey has been shut out of the Caspian pipeline deal so far.

Turkey raises strong objections to that plan. It says the deal would send too many oil supertankers plowing through the Bosphorus in the heart of Istanbul, between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. "We can no longer sit back and watch as bigger and bigger vessels go through at an increasing rate with dangerous loads," says a Turkish official.

Some rivals see Turkey's environmental objections as a smokescreen for its drive to secure huge royalties that would flow from a pipeline across its territory. But as a U.S. official puts it, "The Turkish problem is not getting to go away."

China too seeks a piece of the action. Premier Li Peng is seeking to expand bilateral agreements with Kazakhstan, many of which focus on establishing trade and transport

routes that could send some of Central Asia's resources east instead of west. Meanwhile, Beijing has opened talks with major Western oil companies about how to route oil from its Tarim basin out to the sea, according to U.S. oil executives.

The ultimate solutions, participants say, will depend on just how much oil is discovered in the region over the next decade—and on the ability of Central Asia's new and fragile governments to set aside political rivalries for the sake of common access to immense potential wealth.

"There are clear geopolitical problems here... but also common economic interests," says Howard Chase, a political risk analyst at British Petroleum Exploration Co., which is hunting for oil in Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan.

"A pipeline can tie the destiny of countries together as well as splitting them apart," he says.

When the Soviet Union fell apart, Western analysis of Central Asia focused on prospective ideological and economic competition between regional powers such as secular

Turkey and Islamic-oriented countries such as Iran and Pakistan. That competition for influence in the new republics remains alive in cultural and other areas, many specialists and officials say.

But in countries such as Kazakhstan, it pales beside the gathering momentum of Western business and political interests.

"The classic parameters of a free-market economy apply: Whoever has the greatest capital will have the greatest influence," laments a Pakistani government official. ■

## ASHARQ AL-AWSAT

The International Daily Newspaper Of The Arabs

London - Monday - 3 January 1994 - Print Page No. 1 Vol. 16 No. 5515



(رويت)

صورة بثتها الوكالات أمس للجنرال دوستام مع بعض جنوده

Gen. Dostam leading his troops

THE WASHINGTON POST NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION

June 7-13, 1990

# U.S. Agency for Development Plans to Cut Aid to 35 Nations

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19 (AP) — The Agency for International Development announced today that 21 missions serving 35 countries and territories would be phased out over the next three years as part of a program of cutbacks.

But the announcement does not mean that they will be cut off from all American assistance, officials said, because some of them may continue to receive aid through charitable groups.

The cutbacks would save \$26 million in the agency's annual operational cost of \$500 million and would eliminate about 1,000 jobs, including those of 185 Americans. The actual total cuts in direct aid to the affected countries have not been determined, although the number of recipient countries is eventually to be reduced to about 50, from 108.

Of the 35 countries and territories, 7 are run by dictatorial governments, officials said, 26 are considered to be too prosperous to warrant continued United States assistance at current levels, and 2 are to lose direct aid programs but will receive some assistance through regional programs.

"We were just spread too thin," said J. Brian Atwood, Administrator of the agency. "We were an agency on the road to mediocrity or worse."

Among the countries considered undemocratic is Zaire, which has become progressively poorer under the 28-year rule of President Mobutu Sese Seko despite more than \$1 billion in United

States assistance. Although Mr. Atwood declined to identify the other countries in the same category as Zaire, other officials listed them as Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Togo, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

## No Need to 'Purchase Influence'

Referring to aid programs that were used as part of America's fight against Communism, Mr. Atwood said at a news conference, "We no longer need an aid program to purchase influence."

He cited Costa Rica as a country being phased out because of its substantial economic progress. Among the countries in this category, other officials said, are Botswana, Thailand, Oman, Tunisia, 13 Latin American and Caribbean countries and 9 countries served by a South Pacific regional office.

The announcement however, was criticized by David Beckmann, president of Bread for the World, a Christian organization dedicated to alleviating hunger. Mr. Beckmann said most of the cutbacks affect very poor countries. The problems of hunger, poverty and environmental degradation are not priorities for the Clinton Administration, he asserted.

NYT - 11/20



# The Enemy in Tajikistan

By Pavel Felgenhauer

The first official reaction from the Russian government to the July 13 destruction of the 12th Russian border post on the Tajik-Afghan border was to praise the heroism of the Russian soldiers and blame "Afghan bandits and Tajik Moslems." Awards were given to everyone who was at the 12th border post (24 were awarded posthumously) as well as to one general and several soldiers from a detachment that tried to get through to the fighting, but were unable to do so.

Six men became Heroes of the Russian Federation (four posthumously), although the results of the battle are evidence more of total incompetence than of heroism. In private conversations, the upper echelons of Russian military leaders offered a much more sober assessment of the situation.

On July 19 the commander in chief of the Russian Air Force, General Pyotr Deinkin, who had just returned from Tajikistan, said, "The border troops are good for nothing. They are living off their past successes, when they used dogs to catch deserters and smugglers. Intelligence had warned them of the possibility of attack, but they did nothing to get ready for it. They just went to sleep. The border troops are not ready to wage a modern war. Their generals are not in charge of the situation — they do not know what to do next."

The dissatisfaction of the army generals reached President Boris Yeltsin, and on July 27 he fired Colonel General Vladimir Shlyakhin, who headed the border troops of the Security Ministry. A day later he fired Security Minister Viktor Barannikov, the president's personal friend and longtime supporter.

All Russian troops in Tajikistan, including the border troops of the Security Ministry, are now subordinate to Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. Reinforcements have been sent to Tajikistan: attack aircraft, combat helicopters, approximately 10,000 troops, including one battalion (400 men) of Kyrgyz troops. The number of Russian troops in Tajikistan will soon reach 15,000.

These measures can stabilize the situation for the short term, but the strategic initiative is still in the hands of the enemy. It is the enemy who chooses where and when to strike. The Russian border guards are being attacked from the front and from the rear. And the possibility of effective retaliatory action by the Russian troops is severely limited.

At the present time the Tajik Moslem opposition is being seriously supported by only one faction of the Afghan mujahedin — the Islam Party of Afghanistan under the leadership of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Afghan Moslems helped the Tajik opposition create a center of resistance in Kunduz, in the northern part of Afghanistan, where there is now a Tajik government in exile headed by the Mullahs Abdulla Gafar and Said Nuri.

However, the major portion of Hekmatyar's forces are near Kabul, where they are battling the forces of another field commander — Ahmad Shah Masud, who, although a Tajik by nationality,

does not support the Tajik opposition. Another powerful warlord — General Dustum, an Uzbek, who controls the northeastern corner of Afghanistan, as well as the border with Uzbekistan and part of the border with Tajikistan — is also maintaining neutrality.

But the situation could change soon — in retaliation for new attacks on Russian border posts by the Tajik Moslem opposition, the Russian military is threatening retaliatory strikes against Afghanistan. Grachev and deputy Defense Minister Konstantin Kobets have already promised to punish the "bandits." Similar strikes against Afghan territory could once again unite the masses of mujahedin into a "jihad" against Russia. And the weakened Russian army is not ready for a new war.

The majority of the ground force units are simply not prepared for battle. There are few mobile reserves and they could be moved at any moment to other "hot spots" — Abkhazia, Ossetia, Ingushetia, etc. The Central Asian republics could offer no serious aid to the Russian army even if they wanted to, because their armies are in even worse state than the Russian one.

Russia cannot send more than 15,000-20,000 troops to the Tajik border without calling up the reserves or drafting students into the army. And Russian popular opinion will not stand for such measures, and neither will the parliament. At the same time, if the main portion of mujahedin forces and the Afghan army unite into a "jihad," they can concentrate up to 100,000 professional soldiers on the border with the former U.S.S.R., the majority of whom are now "unemployed" after their victory in the Afghan war.

Units from the regular army of the former communist government in Kabul also have modern fighter planes at their disposal, as well as heavy artillery. And the mujahedin, who have been fighting for 10 years in the mountains of Central Asia, are better trained and equipped than the young Russian soldiers. In such a conflict Russia will be crushed — it is much weaker than the Soviet Union was in 1985 at the height of the Afghan war.

The Tajik problem can be solved only by political and diplomatic means. President Yeltsin has appointed Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev special representative in charge of settling the conflict. But Kozyrev does not have any real influence in the Kremlin. Military leaders are not any more likely to listen to him now than they were before.

President Yeltsin has said: "The Tajik border is, in effect, the Russian border." But Russia does not have the means to defend this border. And Tajikistan is not Russia, where the majority of the population supports the current government. Intelligence has not yet been able to determine where the major portion of the enemy's forces lie — in Afghanistan, or in the Tajik villages they are "defending."

Pavel Felgenhauer is a political observer for Segodnya.

*Russian border troops are being attacked from the front and the rear, and the possibility of retaliatory action is limited.*

## Rabbani in Dushanbe to settle refugees issue

DUSHANBE, Dec. 19: Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani arrived for three days of talks with Tajik leaders Sunday expected to focus on a return of Tajik refugees in Afghanistan to their homes.

About 50,000 Muslim Tajik refugees fled to Afghanistan after the Communists returned to power in Dushanbe a year ago and clashes have continued for the last year between forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Islamist factions on the border between the two countries.

On arrival, Rabbani said his visit would be of "historic importance for the friendship and cooperation between our two countries."

"The Afghan side is ready to do the utmost for Tajik refugees to return and the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border to be resolved", he said, adding that he expected the Tajik government to be as determined.

Rabbani who is on his first visit to Tajikistan is accompanied by Foreign Minister Hidayat Amin Arsal and political and military advisors.

The two countries were to sign a treaty on friendship and economic and trade cooperation in October but the ceremony was postponed due to the continuing violence on the border.

Russian military officials in Tajikistan announced Saturday that joint Russian and Tajik border guards attacked armed forces of the Party of Tajikistan in the southwestern Moskovskiy region, killing or wounding 150 rebels.

Russian troops are part of the CIS contingent stationed in the central Asian nation.

The Tajik leader visited Afghanistan in August — AFP.

PT 12/20





## 'Afghanization' of Tadzhik conflict

Russia, by helping the undemocratically-elected government in Tadzhikistan has forced the Tadzhiks to become refugees on the Afghan border, much as the Afghans were in Pakistan. Russia has reiterated its military support for the Tadzhik government. The refugees are afraid to return to Tadzhikistan because of Imamali's secret police, despite a UN offer of rehabilitation. Illegal arrest and sentence without trial are commonplace. According to a report in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (3 August, 1993) the refugees are not interested in returning to Uzbekistan either. Many anti-government activists from other CIS countries have been arrested and taken to Dushanbe for trial. Khabib Nazrullaev in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* informed that on 30 July, 1993, a member of the Tadzhik parliament, Saidsho Shoev and his brother Siyarsho Shoev, were arrested in Dushanbe. Saidsho Shoev had been called by the Tadzhik prime minister, Abdulmalik Abdullazhanov to attend the parliament; before their arrest the brothers were living in Moscow. The whereabouts of another seven members of parliament is unknown even though the prime minister personally guaranteed their safety. Out of fear many officials are leaving their jobs.

The former Soviet Union's failure to colonize Afghanistan in the 1980s has made it clear that of all the west Asian countries the Western influence in Afghanistan is very little. Though Russia has succeeded in colonizing Central Asia, Afghanistan has always retained its own traditions and culture.

The Tadzhik *Mujahidin* or the 'rebels' as they are called, are now even more convinced that Afghanistan is the model for them to follow. The Russians call it 'export of Islamic revolution'. The Islamic way of life in Afghanistan is very similar to that in Tadzhikistan and easily adaptable. The expansion of Soviet culture has failed in both Tadzhikistan and Afghanistan. After long decades of the imposition of slavish culture, the Tadzhik people are now much more inclined to transform their society into an Islamic one. Though the establishment of an Islamic state may not be possible in the near future, as stated in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* by Mohammad Sharif Himmatzoda the leader of the Islamic Renaissance Party, the transformation to an Islamic way of life has already started. If the opposition takes over Dushanbe, then the leaders have to bear in mind that such an 'Afghanization' will be opposed by many.

The leader of the Tadzhik Democratic Party, Shodman Yusupov, writing in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (25 August, 1993) says regarding the present situation in Tadzhikistan, that the Russian policy towards Central Asia is becoming clear. Russia, with the help of some Central Asian leaders is trying to destroy the political and economic systems to create a permanent crisis in Central Asia and bring about conflict with the Muslims. Russia cannot tolerate a Muslim state in the region unless it has a secular form. Russia's excuse is that Tadzhikistan is under threat of having an Islamic government. However, due to seven decades of state atheism, the circumstances are not favourable for establishing an Islamic state. The media has projected a distorted view of the situation. Steps towards constitutional change is described as aggression and a takeover by 'Islamic fundamentalists'.

Yusupov has proposed, as a solution to the conflict, that under the supervision of the UN and the CSCE a coalition government should be formed, the refugees should return to their homes and, after a year or so, a general election should be held. But neither Russia nor any other CIS country has responded to this initiative. Meanwhile, the refugees' agony is increasing. The worst conditions are in Uzbekistan where the Tadzhik refugees number about 40 thousand. Many families are split up. Many have bought Uzbek passports costing between 30 and 150 thousand roubles on the black market. Unfortunately, many of these passports have been confiscated and the refugees sent back; some, through an 'illegal way', have managed to move to some other part of the CIS. Although most of the refugees were not involved in politics, Uzbek television has called them the 'enemies of stabilization in the region'. In Afghanistan, where thousands of Tadzhik refugees are living in camps, disease is spreading rapidly, reported in *Trud* (3 September, 1993).

In contrast, the present government of Tadzhikistan celebrated 'Independence Day' on 9 September, 1991 — an event which has no meaning for the refugees.

Central Asia Brief #5/93

# Ismail Khan pays visit to Turkmenistan

Commander Ismail Khan, the governor of Herat, led a delegation to Turkmenistan to discuss trade and economic cooperation between Afghanistan and Turkmenistan.

In Ashkabad, he met with the President, Vice President and ministers of defense, foreign affairs and security of Turkmenistan.

Turkmenistan agreed to sell petroleum products to Afghanistan, sell electricity for the city of Herat and provide assistance for the repair of Herat-Torghundi road.

The Afghan Deputy Minister of Information and Culture, Deputy Head of the Technical Department of the Ministry of Defense and the ideological chief of the President's office accompanied Ismail Khan in this trip.

The Afghan delegation was given a warm welcome during its arrival and departure at Ashkabad airport.

Turkmenistan has common borders with the provinces of Herat, Badkhis and Faryab.

Ashkabad abstained from supporting the war efforts of Russia against the northern borders of Afghanistan during the recent crisis over the Tajik issue. President Niazof refused to allow the Russians planes involved in military activities against Afghanistan to land in that republic for refueling purposes.

Ashkabad is interested in opening a transit route between Turkmenistan and Pakistan through Afghanistan. Some time ago, Turkmenistan initiated an air transport agreement with the Islamic state of Afghanistan. Afghanistan and Turkmenistan are both members of the Economic Cooperation Organization comprising ten countries of the region.

AFGHANews

October, 1993

# Afghan Fighters Aiding Azerbaijan in Civil War

By Steve Levine  
Special to The Washington Post

BAKU, Azerbaijan—The government of this Caucasian republic has hired a force of more than 1,000 Afghan *mujaheddin* fighters to buttress its sagging army, introducing a volatile new element to the five-year Azerbaijan-Armenian war on the former Soviet Union's southern rim.

The deployment, unprecedented since the collapse of the Soviet Union almost two years ago, is part of President Gaidar Aliyev's campaign to save the integrity of his Caspian Sea republic of 7 million people. Azerbaijan has lost 40 percent of its territory and about 1 million people have become refugees in the conflict with ethnic Armenians battling for independence in the Azerbaijani enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.

As a sign of his tenuous situation, Aliyev, a former Communist Party boss, also has aggressively sought direct military support from the United States, Iran and Turkey, according to several Western diplomats. Aliyev's face-to-face appeal last week to U.S. Ambassador to Azerbaijan Richard Miles was rebuffed, according to Western sources, and the forces sent by Afghan Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar so far have been unable to help the Azerbaijani army repel a surging ethnic Armenian offensive.

"We estimate that it would take two days for the Armenians to march straight into Baku," a Western diplomat said last week. "They would be almost unopposed. This city is defenseless."

Western analysts do not expect the Armenians to push as far as Baku. However, the relentless Armenian advance, in which a large swath of southwestern Azerbaijan bordering Iran was seized and burned just two weeks ago, seems on the verge of plunging Baku into a new political crisis, diplomats said. Five Baku governments have fallen in the last two years over the war, and Aliyev, who came to power in June in a military coup, "is in real trouble," one Western diplomat said.

"Aliyev's time is up," the diplomat said. "He needs to do something radical. He needs Turkish, Iranian, somebody's backing."

Aliyev's move comes at a propitious moment for Azerbaijan, which is about to become one of the former Soviet Union's wealthiest republics. Azerbaijan is soon to receive the first \$250 million of an estimated \$94 billion, 35-year windfall from its rich offshore oil fields. The signing bonus, to be paid by an eight-company Western oil consortium, would help pull Azerbaijan back from the verge of economic collapse. But, diplomats say, the money may do little to stave off political collapse if Aliyev is unable to improve Azerbaijan's performance on the battlefield.

The deployment of Afghan forces to save a former Soviet republic is ironic since many historians believe that Moscow's 1989 withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan marked the start of the Soviet Union's decline that ended with the superpower's December 1991 collapse.

The Afghan soldiers, identifiable by their trademark round, flat woolen caps and shin-length cotton robes, started arriving in August, soon after a visit to Afghanistan by Azerbaijani Deputy Interior Minister Roshan Jivadov, the diplomats said. Hekmatyar, the Afghan prime minister, approved the deployment for an undisclosed sum, the diplomats said. Azerbaijan and Afghanistan are both Muslim nations, while Armenia is largely Christian.

The Afghan force, which diplomats estimate at between 1,000 and 1,500 men, is part of the Iran-backed mujaheddin faction called Hezb-i-Wahdat, which is allied with Hekmatyar. Although Tehran finances and influences the party, it is unclear what role, if any, Iran played in the deployment in Azerbaijan, diplomats said.



The Afghans' first major action came two weeks ago when Baku launched a surprise offensive in the Zangellan region, near Iran. A force of ethnic Armenians immediately repulsed the Azerbaijani assault, which the Afghans either spearheaded or helped lead, diplomats said, and then the Armenians pushed out the local population of some 60,000 Azerbaijanis.

The Azerbaijani force, including the Afghans, appear to have fled when the counteroffensive began, diplomats said.

The Afghan presence is producing concern among some diplomats, who cited unconfirmed reports of tension between some mujaheddin fighters and members of the local population. An estimated 1 million Afghans and 13,000 Soviets died during the decade-long Soviet army presence in Afghanistan.

"It's a very dangerous thing to bring in the Afghans," said a senior Western diplomat. "They have very mixed feelings. Many of them had relatives killed by these very same people [former Soviets]."

THE WASHINGTON POST NOVEMBER 8, 1993

## Looking back on "60 Minutes." Rather in Disguise



Don Rather: Going native in Afghanistan, 1980.

"Some stories seem just too far-out to be fully believed," says Dan Rather, "and that was the case here. I told Don Hewitt, 'They're using gas.' But he wasn't buying it. I told him we saw the victims. He said, 'How do you know they gassed them?' You can tell, I told him, 'because gas does things to people that nothing else does. And there was a doctor who confirmed it.' Don said, 'How do you know he's a doctor?' I said, 'Well, I didn't see his degree from Vanderbilt University, but I can tell you he's a doctor, and I can tell you they are using gas in there.' The Soviet embassy went berserk and said, 'This is ridiculous; we aren't using gas,' but the fact of the matter is that we now know they were experimenting with gas all over the place in Afghanistan. Well, I got a lot of heat for this story. Even for dressing in native costume. I mean, I was going behind enemy lines! How was I supposed to dress? Give me a break."

TV GUIDE NOVEMBER 6, 1993

From the Editor:

As we enter our 22nd year of publication, we'll take some space to reiterate our annual disclaimer.

We publish as much information about Afghanistan as comes to our attention. We do not vouch for its veracity as we know that one person's fact is another's propaganda. but we always cite our sources (with the exception of the occasional rumor) so you can judge for yourselves. We take no political stand, we receive no funding (and no salaries); subscriptions are our only source of revenue. This is a voluntary effort and we depend upon our readers for clippings, notices of events, news items, gossip, etc. We do try to avoid out-and-out slander, which is not always easy. We spell proper names the way they appear in the article cited. It provides variety & we are in no way qualified to set standards for transliteration.

Most of your subscriptions will expire with this issue. If a bright yellow form is enclosed with this issue, you owe us money. We are grateful & dependent on your interest & support so we hope you will want to continue to receive our favorite publication.

As to rumors, there are many: Rabbani will prevail; Rabbani is history; take your pick. We hope 1994 will bring peace instead of pieces to Afghanistan.

The deadline for the next issue is March 1. Our hearty thanks to all of you who sent material for this issue. Please keep it up.

The dates on the right are courtesy of the New York City Dept. of Transportation via the AAA New York Motorist (alternate-side of the street parking holidays).

## ORGANIZATIONS

AFGHANISTAN RESCUE EFFORT, (ARE)  
P.O. Box 5122, Hamden, CT 06518,  
was founded last April to provide  
& channel civilian goods & services for reconstruction & development projects in Afghanistan. The organization plans to concentrate its activities in 5 areas: agriculture, infrastructure, health care, education & modern technology. ARE hopes to attract funds from private sources, foundations, the UN, USAID & other nat'l & int'l organizations.

The organization's publication, EFFORT (the first issue appeared in the summer of 1993), will carry articles concentrating on the need for close cooperation among Afghan professionals & the need for attracting aid for reconstruction projects. The publication is available free of charge from ARE at the above address. ARE's officers are Negmatullah Najumi, a student at Yale University; Dr. Moh'd Saleh Keshawar, Assoc. Prof. of Civil & Environmental Engineering at the Univ. of Hartford; & Patricia Shea, Director of the Middletown Office of Connecticut Congressman Sam Gejdenson.



- 
- March 13, Idul Fitr, first day
  - March 14, Idul Fitr, second day
  - March 15, Idul Fitr, third day

- May 20, Idul Adha, first day
- May 21, Idul Adha, second day
- May 22, Idul Adha, third day

# Islamic radicals train abroad, dream of revolution at home

By Neila Sammakia  
ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Peshawar, Pakistan** — Muslim radicals in this dusty frontier town and the wild Afghan mountains nurture warm dreams of Islam's past glory. But they are coldly realistic in planning for Islam's future.

These militants from half a dozen Arab countries, made tough and practical by battles with Soviet armies in Afghanistan, say they aren't ready to destroy "infidel" governments at home — at least not yet.

"It would be easy to overthrow the government, but what comes next is more complicated," said Mohammed Ibrahim Mekkawi, a fugitive Egyptian army colonel who travels between Peshawar and Afghanistan.

The radicals say they do not have enough sympathizers among Egyptian army officers to control the country after a coup.

Mekkawi and other Arab radicals have lived in a secret world, passing without challenge through sleepy frontier checkpoints dressed in the turbans and billowy pants of Afghan mountaineers.

Now Pakistan is hunting them down in response to complaints from Egypt and Algeria that the "Afghans" — Arabs who fought with the Afghan guerrillas — are transferring their Islamic zeal to revolutions at home that have taken hundreds of lives.

The radicals see themselves as part of an international movement. Some are training to fight with the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kashmir. Many say their spiritual leader is Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, the blind Egyptian cleric jailed in New York on charges of plotting to blow up the World Trade Center.

Bolstered by victory in Afghanistan, some envision a world in which *sharia* — Muslim law — prevails even at the gates of Europe, where Islam ruled 500 years ago during its Golden Age.

"Our religion requires us to retrieve all our land up to Sicily and to the border with France,"

said Abu Moaz, the code name of a burly Palestinian who once was a shopkeeper in Saudi Arabia.

In the military camp he commands south of Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, Abu Moaz reclined on a red and blue mat, a knife and pistol in his belt. A ginger-colored cat sniffed at empty ammunition cases piled by the door.

Abu Moaz would not say how many Arabs were training at his camp, which has two barracks that once housed Soviet soldiers, but he said there were hundreds of trainees in Afghanistan.

He said he does not expect the radicals' dreams to be realized for at least a decade, but he is optimistic because "youth in the Islamic world is coming out of its stupor."

In Pakistan, the fugitive Egyptian colonel Mekkawi and a colleague, Mahmoud Sabaawy, said victory will be achieved only through long, patient effort.

"I don't approve of military coups any longer," Mekkawi, who is wanted by Egyptian authorities, said in a message faxed to The Associated Press from an undisclosed location.

Sabaawy, who lost his right leg in Afghanistan, spoke on a street in the suburb of Hayatabad in order to avoid Pakistani intelligence agents who stalk Arab radicals in Peshawar.

He said he had been a builder in Cairo but was afraid to go home because Egyptian authorities often detain men returning from Pakistan and Afghanistan, even those who engaged only in humanitarian work. Sabaawy acknowledged being close to the militants, but he claimed he was not a member of any group.

Mekkawi said he belongs to an offshoot of Jihad, or Holy War, which assassinated President Anwar Sadat in 1981. After Sadat was killed, rebels tried to organize a coup in the southern city of Assiut, but the Egyptian army remained loyal.

Others among the "Afghans" also claimed membership in either Islamic Jihad or al-Gamaa al-Islamiya (The Islamic Group), an umbrella organization for movements that advocate Islamic law in Egypt.

The two groups, which claim Abdel-Rahman as their spiritual guide, have carried out attacks on Egyptian police, public officials, Coptic Christians and tourists. More than 225 people, including extremists and police, have been killed since January 1992.

Attacks by the militants have fostered instability and weakened the Egyptian tourist industry, a main source of foreign currency. President Hosni Mubarak, re-elected in October, has made crushing the militants a major goal of his third term.

It is difficult to say how much of the radical campaign in Egypt is led from abroad. The government has persistently blamed outsiders, but Arab radicals in Peshawar say the movement is home-grown with ties abroad.

Although Mekkawi claimed he had ordered attacks from abroad, militants in Cairo said he is not their leader.

Mekkawi and Sabaawy seem confident of building the Muslim militant movement in Egypt. But Sabaawy said the militants gave up on a coup when they realized the allegiance of about 1,500 high-ranking officers would be needed to maintain control.

While conceding "we are very far from that number," he also claimed secret cells that have carried out attacks through the Vanguards of Conquest movement include many current or former military men.

"Most of the training is within Egypt now, even in the army, where there are some cadres rising in great secrecy," Sabaawy said.

Egyptian authorities have detained more than 700 alleged Vanguard members and about 200 are being tried in military courts.

*The Atlantic Journal / The Atlantic Constitution*

November 25, 1993

## A VISIT WITH SHEIKH OMAR

**I** AM not a conspirator," Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman said. "And it makes absolutely no sense that I would conspire to blow up a city in which I chose to live. I'll tell you who the real conspirator is: the American government, and especially Janet Reno. She should be ashamed of herself. She knows full well that when Alfonso D'Amato went to see her, forty-eight hours—forty-eight hours—before she detained me, and asked her to indict me, she responded that she didn't even have enough evidence to arrest me, let alone indict me."

The Sheikh threw up his hands. He was seated on a metal chair at a Formica table, in a small room for visitors on the third floor of the Metropolitan Correctional Center, in lower Manhattan. He was dressed in a green prison shirt and a pair of matching trousers, and wore brown slippers on his feet. On his head was a plain white crocheted prayer cap, and his eyes were covered by heavy black glasses. With him at the table were his lawyer, William Kunstler, and an interpreter. His greeting, on this recent wintry afternoon, had been cordial, but he had made it clear that he would discuss neither the wiretaps of a secret F.B.I. informant, which are at the core of the government's case against him—he stands accused of seditious conspiracy in connection with the bombing of the World Trade Center and an alleged plan to bomb the United Nations and other New York landmarks—nor any other evi-

dence to be presented at his trial, which is scheduled to begin later this year.

The Sheikh sipped a diet Coke and went on to say that in the days before he was indicted, last August, his immigration lawyer, Barbara Nelson, had been negotiating with the United States Attorney's office: if the Sheikh was released from prison, where he was being detained on an immigration technicality, and permitted to leave for Afghanistan, he would drop his appeal for political asylum and for the return of his green card, which had allowed him to remain in the United States. But when the Egyptian government learned of the negotiations, the Sheikh said, officials in Cairo "applied pressure on Washington, and Miss

Reno simply acquiesced."

He then talked about Afghanistan and the war there, and about his first visit to the war-torn countryside, in 1985. The war in Afghanistan had been

cathartic for him. He had raised money for the war, recruited Arab fighters, visited battles, and wept as he listened to the echo of crashing artillery shells. "When the Afghans rose and declared a jihad—and jihad had been dead for the longest time—I can't tell you how proud I was," he said. "It was no longer just in the Koran. It was there on the battlefield. And what a sense of pride I felt when the mujahideen drove the Soviets out of Afghanistan." He smiled.

The Sheikh was then asked about Mustafa Shalabi, who had been a confidant of his during the period, in 1990, when the Sheikh was preaching regularly in Brooklyn at the Al-Farouq



mosque. The two had a falling-out after Shalabi was accused by officials of the mosque of having embezzled more than two million dollars that had been raised for Arab volunteers fighting in Afghanistan. In March of 1991, Shalabi's body was found in his Brooklyn apartment; there were stab wounds in his torso, and a bullet through his head. A federal grand jury is now investigating the murder.

When the Sheikh was asked if he had denounced Shalabi as a bad Muslim, he grew noticeably tense, and said, "No, I did not."

Were notices posted in mosques? Was a *fatwa* issued?

"No," he replied. "There was nothing at all." He did not want to say anything else about Mustafa Shalabi.

He was asked a question about himself: What had radicalized him?

The question seemed to relax him a bit. "I guess it began with the injustice around me in Egypt during Nasser's regime. Then the periods of detentions, the imprisonments"—largely from 1981 through 1984, when he was charged with (and acquitted of) having issued a *fatwa* that resulted in the assassination of President Anwar Sadat.

Had he been tortured in prison?

"In many ways. At least ten different methods were used on me, among them being hung from the ceiling by my ankles, being beaten with sticks, and receiving electric shocks. Yet, in spite of all this, the United States government does not believe that I deserve political asylum in the United States."

The Sheikh had worked alongside the United States government in Afghanistan, preaching jihad and recruiting volunteers. Now he was in a prison in the United States. How did he feel about that?

He thought for a moment, and replied, "Do you think we were naive enough to believe that the United States government was helping the Afghans because it believed in their cause—to raise the flag of jihad for Islam? Absolutely not. The Americans were there to punish the Soviet Union. And when they were sure the Soviet Union was about to collapse, they stopped everything—all the aid, all the equipment—just like that. They didn't care that there was still a Communist government in power in Afghanistan." He fell silent, as if he were considering whether to go on, and then said, "But what bothers me, and makes me feel bitter about the whole thing, is when a person who was called a freedom fighter then is now called, when the war is over, a terrorist."

Did he believe that there was a connection between the war that the "freedom fighters" had waged in Afghanistan and what was happening today in Egypt and Algeria, where militant Islamic movements were seeking to wrest control of those countries' governments?

"Absolutely," the Sheikh said without hesitation. "These are most definitely linked." He leaned back in his chair and began rocking a bit, his gray-white beard resting on his chest.

# Chicken Shop Selling Guns, Officials Say

By RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

Roberto Pennyfeather didn't know about guns or drugs being sold at Mama's Fried Chicken. But then, like most of his neighbors, he didn't want to know.

"You just knew from who was around at night that it was a dangerous place," said Mr. Pennyfeather, who lives around the corner from Mama's, in East Tremont in the Bronx. "I don't ask too many questions."

The true business of Mama's, law-enforcement officials charged yesterday, was that of a supermarket in New York City's vast subterranean economy of destruction, operating virtually in the shadow of a junior high school. On Monday the chicken stand's owner, Fareedullah Nawabi, was arrested and charged with selling 59 unregistered firearms, 234 rounds of ammunition, a pound of cocaine and some heroin to undercover officers over a three-month period. When he was arrested, the police said, five more guns were confiscated at the store.

Robert M. Morgenthau, the Manhattan District Attorney, said at a news conference that Mama's was a "a guns-for-order business with take-out service," specializing in the most popular weapons of the street — 9-millimeter and .380-caliber semiautomatic pistols and .357 Magnum and .38-caliber revolvers. More exotic hardware, like a Calico pistol with a 50-round drum magazine, was also for sale, he said.

## An Array of Charges

Mr. Nawabi, who lives in Flushing, Queens, with his father and sister, faces an array of charges that could net him a sentence of 25 years to life in prison if convicted. He pleaded not guilty yesterday in State Supreme Court in Manhattan, and Acting Justice Leslie C. Synder ordered him held without bail.

"I'm confident that when all the facts are in, Mr. Nawabi will be exonerated," said his lawyer, Paul S. Brenner.

Mr. Brenner said that before coming to the United States in 1989, Mr. Nawabi, 23, was one of the Mujahadeen, the rebels who battled Soviet troops and the Soviet-backed Government of Afghanistan for more than a decade. "I understand he and his family were given political asylum here," Mr. Brenner said.

A second suspect, Russel Thompson of the Bronx, was arrested in Ohio, where investigators said many of the guns were first sold, but officials would not say what he was being charged with.

## Hard-to-Trace Weapons

Police Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly said Mr. Nawabi, an Afghan national known as Mohammed, bragged to an undercover investigator that he had sold a million guns from Mama's. "Obviously, we have to give him a little leeway for braggadocio," Mr. Kelly said, "but this is a significant case, a major case, as far as gun dealing in the Bronx and the city of New York."

Officials said Mr. Nawabi's clientele were criminals willing to pay a premium for hard-to-trace weapons. A police lieutenant, Kenneth McCann, said undercover officers paid a total of \$26,000 for guns with a retail value of \$11,000.

Mama's, on Boston Road at Seabury Place, sits at the southern end of a busy strip of delicatessens and groceries, within 100 yards of two churches, in an area dominated by five- and six-story apartment houses.

The residents, mostly black and Hispanic, say the neighborhood has rebounded from its nadir in the late-1970's. They point to a few dozen neat single-family homes with well-kept yards, where 10 years ago there were abandoned and fire-gutted buildings, and to Public School 98 across the street from Mama's, which, after being shuttered for a couple of years, reopened as the Foreign Language and Global Studies magnet school.

Still the fear that pervades so many of the city's neighborhoods has not entirely abated, nor has the sense that too much inquiry is a dangerous thing. Many people who live and work nearby say they knew that something was wrong at Mama's, which was open around the clock, but were not quite sure what.

Kosa, a teen-age girl who refused to give her last name, said, "There was always drug dealers sitting in there, and everybody knew it."

## 'Don't Want to Know'

Angelo Sanchez, who works at a carburetor repair shop half a block away, said he had often wondered why Mama's was bustling at 3 A.M. But when pressed about what he might have seen, he said, "Sometimes you don't want to know."

The investigation into Mama's was done by the police and the Manhattan District Attorney's office, which received the first tips of gun sales in 1991, and the city's Office of Special Narcotics and the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

The fast-food business served as little more than a front for the illegal trade, Lieutenant McCann said. In the 11 weeks that law-enforcement officials had the restaurant under surveillance, he said, "I don't think they sold \$50 worth of chicken."

THE NEW YORK TIMES

NOVEMBER 17, 1993

# One man's saga could be a blueprint for the experience of many Afghans in America.

By RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

From the battlefields of war-ravaged Afghanistan to the underground railroad millions of refugees took into Pakistan before coming to the streets of New York City, the life of Fareedullah Nawabi could have been a blueprint for the experience of many Afghans in America.

That is, until last week. Mr. Nawabi was arrested on charges that he has sold a virtual arsenal of firearms, along with heroin and cocaine, to undercover police officers at his business, Mama's Fried Chicken, in the East Tremont section of the Bronx.

The arrest, coming as it did as Congress debated the Brady Bill, focused attention on the easy availability of guns in many inner-city neighborhoods. But it also casts a light on a man whose saga was typical among the people who fled the last major armed conflict of the Cold War and reached the United States. It also serves as a reminder that each wave of migration to this country, from the Pilgrims on, has been motivated by trouble at home.

Like most of the 35,000 Afghans who live in the United States, Mr. Nawabi's presence in this country is a legacy of the Cold War. For more than four decades, émigrés from Communist countries went to the head of the line for entry into this country.

## Sketchy Details of Life

"The Government was bending over backward for the Afghans, like the Cubans or the Chinese," said Jeffrey S. Chase, an immigration lawyer in New York City who worked extensively with Afghans.

The war between Soviet troops backing the Afghan government and Muslim rebels supported by the United States sent refugees streaming over the country's borders, primarily to Pakistan. At one time, international aid groups estimated that there were more than three million Afghans in Pakistan, most in refugee camps in border areas around the city of Peshawar.

The details of Mr. Nawabi's life remain sketchy, and what is known sometimes only clouds the picture. For instance, investigators say he used several aliases, but they do not

know why. Prosecutors said that after his arrest, Mr. Nawabi, who is being held without bail, insisted that his only address was Mama's Fried Chicken, but his lawyer said he lived with his family in Flushing, Queens.

Mr. Nawabi's family, who declined to be interviewed, was a part of that human tide, moving from Kabul, the Afghan capital, to Pakistan in 1982,



when he was 12 years old, according to Immigration and Naturalization Service records.

Each year, the Reagan and Bush administrations granted refugee status to more than 2,000 Afghans living in Pakistan and India, and brought them to the United States to live.

"They were giving refugee status to 125,000 people a year from the entire world," said Lucas Guttentag, director of the Immigration Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union. "It was always heavily slanted to Communist countries, but in the 80's, it became more so, and Afghanistan was added to the list."

It was by this method that in December 1989, Mr. Nawabi and his parents were brought to New York, the immigration service records show. Mr. Nawabi later returned to Pakistan to retrieve his sister, and the entire family gained permanent resident status in November 1991.

Mr. Nawabi's lawyer, Paul S. Brenner, said his client was one of the mujahedeen — or "holy warriors" fighting the Soviet-backed government and Soviet troops — though he knew nothing about his client's involvement in the Afghan war. The rebel groups had headquarters in Pakistan, and border crossing by their members was common. Immigration and Naturalization Service officials said they could neither confirm nor deny that Mr. Nawabi played a role in the fighting.

The magic word for Afghans seeking passage to a life in America, immigration lawyers said, was *mujahedeen*, and a refugee with ties to the *mujahedeen* was almost assured permission to live in the United States, they said. "You didn't even have to have fought," Mr. Chase said. "You could say, 'I cooked for them,' or 'I gave them money.'"

#### Afghan Growth

Mr. Chase said Afghans might even have been able to pick up enough war stories in refugee camps to fake experience in the *mujahedeen* convincingly. Barbara Nelson, an immigration lawyer with many Afghan clients, disagreed, noting that asylum applicants were questioned extensively by Americans who knew a great deal about the war.

In the last decade, Afghan neighborhoods sprouted up in Queens, particularly Flushing and Kew Gardens Hills, and in Newark, Los Angeles, San Francisco and northern Virginia. New York City alone has 2,785 residents who were born in Afghanistan, according to the City Planning Department.

Mr. Brenner said the Nawabi family settled in Queens, which has the largest Afghan neighborhood in the Northeast.

Even Mr. Nawabi's choice of a legitimate business was typical for Afghans, many of whom operate fried chicken stands, primarily in Queens, Manhattan and the Bronx. "It's like Koreans with markets," said Naim Saidi, an Afghan-born importer and interpreter. "When one starts, he

gives jobs to friends and they get started in the same business."

Besides the flow of Government-sanctioned immigrants, each year during the civil war, hundreds of Afghans arrived here on their own and applied for asylum. Most flew into New York or Los Angeles, with false documents bought in the black markets of Peshawar and Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. Others came on short-term visas and applied for asylum when the visas ran out.

In the 1980's, immigrants who reached American soil and applied for asylum stood a chance of about one in five of getting it. Until the fall of the Communist Government in April 1992, more than half the Afghan applicants were given asylum, and in some years the odds were better than 2 to 1.

Mr. Saidi, who moved to the United States in 1970, said that Afghans who emigrated before the war tended to be wealthy, urban and well-educated, while those who fled the fighting were more evenly divided between the rich and the poor, and between the cities and the countryside.

"The people who were brought up during the war, in Afghanistan or in the refugee camps, they have no education, no cultural ties, sometimes even no religious ties and no moral ties," he said.

No figures on crime by ethnic group are available, but William Cook, supervising investigator for the city's special narcotics prosecutor, said the number of Afghans trafficking in guns and drugs was surprisingly high for the number of people. But it is not surprising, he said, that former guerrillas, accustomed to an underground existence where guns are readily available, should adapt easily to illegal trades in this country.

But John Assadi, an immigration lawyer, Ms. Nelson and Mr. Saidi all insisted that Afghans were no more, likely than many other immigrant groups to become involved in criminal activity.

NYT - 11/29

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Calendar from ARIC BULLETIN (April, 1993)

## Contrasting Practices for 2 Afghan Families

A steaming bowl of *qhabli*, brown rice topped with raisins and carrots, sits next to the turkey on the Niazi family's Thanksgiving table in Canoga Park every year—a hint of Afghanistan in an otherwise American feast.

But across the San Fernando Valley at the Sayed household in Van Nuys, there is no turkey, no stuffing and no cranberry sauce on Thanksgiving. Instead, the main dish is lamb kabobs and rice.

"We cannot find halal turkey in the market," said Farida Sayed, 34, who lives with her parents and two younger brothers. "I guess we could go kill one on our own, but nobody has bothered."

These two Afghan families have lived in this country for different lengths of time—the Niazis 14 years, the Sayeds seven. But their different religious practices and traditions, more than their familiarity with American culture, dictate their Thanksgiving menus.

The Sayeds eat only meat that has been prepared according to Muslim codes, which usually means avoiding poultry, since halal poultry is hard to find, Farida Sayed said. Although the Niazis are also Muslim, they eat all meats except pork.

Despite the varied menus, Thanksgiving for both the Sayeds and the Niazis is a family day.

About 20 relatives, including an aunt, a grandmother and cousins, gather at the Sayeds' apartment, bringing meat and rice dishes native to Afghanistan.

The Niazis host about 30 relatives including uncles, cousins and grandparents at their house in Canoga Park, gathering for the meal shortly after the noon prayer. They top off the feast with Afghan tea, baklava and rice pudding alongside the pumpkin pie.

For both families, who came to America to escape the political turmoil in Afghanistan, it is the gathering of relatives—not the historical significance of Thanksgiving—that makes the day different than any other.

"We just celebrate it as a meal, not with meaning like the Americans do," said Nahid Niazi, a senior at Canoga Park High School, who was 2 years old when her family immigrated to the United States. "We have other holidays that are more important to us."

As part of their religion, the two families pray to give thanks five times every day and celebrate two Muslim feasts during the year. American Thanksgiving is more a time when friends and relatives can see each other.

"We never thought of the holiday meaning or not meaning anything," Farida Sayed said. "The holiday comes and we get together."

FAT 11/25 —SUSAN BYRNES

# Afghan leader seeks end to 'interference'

By Mazhar Hasan Siddiqi  
Saudi Gazette Staff

JEDDAH, Dec. 27

A FRONT-rank leader of Afghanistan today asked Pakistan and Iran to stop interfering in his country's affairs.

Pir Syed Ahmad Gilani, head of the National Islamic Front, who is being considered as future prime minister in the event of change in administration at Kabul, hoped the "new government" in Pakistan will not play "a negative role."

He said Pakistan "should not impose its will on us." The past regimes in Pakistan had put "pressure" on Afghanistan, he added.

He described the accord reached in Islamabad in March by leaders of the nine parties of Afghan Mujahideen as the outcome of the "will" of former prime minister Nawaz Sharif's regime.

Gilani said he did not accept the accord but signed it nevertheless for the sake of peace. "We did not want any one to blame us that we are not accepting it," he said. Elaborating, Gilani said the then ruling alliance of Sharif's Muslim League with Jamaat-i-Islami (led by Qazi Hussain Ahmad) was in favour of Hizbe Islami of Afghan Premier Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

"We do not accept any influence of any party or government in our affairs. We are all for Loi jirga (the grand assembly constituted by over 1,000 representatives drawn from tribes, intellectuals, armed forces, and tribal chiefs) to be held under the supervision of the UN and the Organization of Islamic Conference," he said.

Referring to Pakistan's Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's initiative for reconciliation between President Burhan Uddin Rabbani and Hekmatyar and different factions, Gilani asked why Pakistan was trying to talk to the two leaders alone and forget others and why Pakistan always forgets the aspirations of Afghanistan.

He said the initiative from the Pakistani leadership should be "in favour of Afghanistan" and was welcome only if it involved talking to 12 recognised parties of the country, tribal leaders, military commanders, and intellectuals.

Gilani appreciated Pakistan's support during its 13-year-long jihad against the then Soviet Russia's occupation and its

rule at Kabul. For the success in Jihad, he credited the people of Afghanistan. He also acknowledged the late president Zia-ul-Haq's support for Jihad, but noted that he was also "supporting Hekmatyar and others".

Gilani claimed his party's influence was very much visible in south-east, south-west, north and north-west, and also in the capital, besides large followings in most of the country's 32 provinces. Provincial governors and divisional military commanders also belong to his NIFA, he claimed. Presently, two ministers, including a foreign minister, represent his party in the fragile coalition government.

Gilani confirmed that he was asked by President Rabbani to take over as prime minister. But he has made the acceptance conditional. It should be "in a legal way" with full authority delegated to the head of the government, he said. The Loi jirga should be held, as scheduled, under the supervision of UN and OIC, and the forces should be merged into a strong national force, he added.

He has also indicated to the President that he will come hard on the producers of poppy in order to fight the drug menace. He will modernise the farming sector to make it profitably productive. He will also urge all the intellectuals and academicians now abroad to play a role in the development of Afghanistan.

Gilani further said he will compete for the presidency when the Loi jirga takes place six months from now, adding that if it could not take place as scheduled it would be a "catastrophe for the country."

Saudi Gazette 12/28

## Hekmatyar escapes bid on his life

KABUL, Nov. 10 (Agencies) — An attempt to assassinate Afghan Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar was foiled two days ago, reliable sources in his Hezb-i-Islami Mujahideen faction said today.

The attempt occurred shortly before a cabinet session was to take place at Chahar Asiab, Hekmatyar's temporary headquarters about 40 km south of Kabul. A man entered the room with an explosive device intending to blow up the entire cabinet, said a senior Hezb official.

But a bodyguard spotted him and arrested him, the official said. A special delegation headed by Sulman Gailani, minister of frontiers and tribal affairs, has been ordered to investigate.

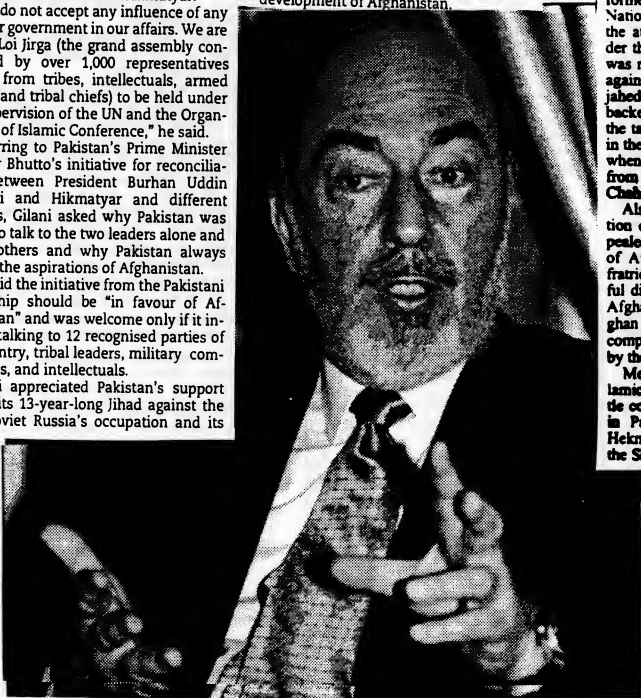
Hezb sources accused members of the former 5th Department in the Ministry of National Security Affairs of being behind the attempt. The department operated under the previous regime of Najibullah and was responsible for clandestine operations against "bandits" — its term for the Mujahideen factions fighting the Soviet-backed government. Hekmatyar has been the target of several assassination attempts in the past, including one eight months ago when his car came under fire on the road from Jalalabad, eastern Afghanistan, to Chahar Asiab.

Also today, Pakistan and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) appealed to the president and prime minister of Afghanistan to immediately halt their fratricidal conflict and engage "a peaceful dialogue for the greater welfare of the Afghan nation". They appealed to the Afghan leaders to arrange a cease-fire, ensure complete cessation of hostilities and abide by the peace accord.

Meanwhile, according to the Afghan Islamic Press (AIP) agency, the secesaw battle continues in the strategic Tagab Valley in Parwan. Yesterday the supporters of Hekmatyar retook most of the valley from the Shura Nazar forces.

Arab News (Saudi Arabia) 11/11/93

Photo from Asharq Al-Awsat 11/5/



# Warrior taking time out to run Afghan government

Afghanistan's mujahedeen, or Muslim holy warriors, fought against the former Soviet army from 1979 to 1989 and then against the Communist government in Kabul until it fell in April 1992. But today, they are fighting among themselves in a civil war that has claimed more than 10,000 lives.

By GREG MYRE

The Associated Press

**CHARASYAB, Afghanistan** — From this ramshackle roadside village, Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar wages war on his enemies. But he does reserve one day a week to sip tea with them at his regular Cabinet meeting.

In Afghanistan's convoluted civil war, the feuding factions made Hekmatyar head of government in May, including some of the very enemies he now battles.

But he's yet to enter the nearby capital of Kabul for fear of attack from the countless rivals — including the president who put him in power — he's accumulated during almost two decades as a guerrilla fighter.

"Unfortunately, the fighting is still going on," the terse, soft-spoken Hekmatyar said. "The city needs to be vacated by all armed parties."

Because Hekmatyar and his hard-line Hezb-e-Islami faction are at odds with President Burhanuddin Rabbani, the fragmented government comes to him in this dilapidated collection of adobe huts and farm fields 15 miles south of Kabul.

For the Sunday Cabinet meetings, government ministers pile into chauffeured Mercedes-Benzes and travel from their Kabul offices to Hekmatyar's base in a heavily armed convoy.

Nine factions each hold two seats in the 18-member Cabinet, which has limited authority, almost no money, and remains hopelessly divided.

The parties agree Afghanistan should be an Islamic state, and some of the ministries manage to function. But more often than not, the ministers disagree. That's not surprising, as the rival parties are often firing rockets at one another from the brown, barren hills that surround the devastated capital.

"Relations in the Cabinet are good," Hekmatyar said. But he

concedes the current arrangement is not the best way to run a government and hopes his seat of power can soon move to Kabul.

An estimated 10,000 people have been killed since April 1992, when the Islamic militias started shooting at one another in a bid for power after ousting the Communist government installed by the former Soviet Union. At least six factions control parts of Kabul, a scenario reminiscent of Beirut, Lebanon, in the 1980s.

Hekmatyar, who has fought a succession of rulers in Kabul since his student days in the mid-1970s,

heads an uncompromising fundamentalist movement that's considered the country's second strongest party.

Rabbani's Jamiat-e-Islami Party is the leading group and holds most key parts of the capital, including the bullet-pocked presidential palace.

"The jihad [holy war] for an Islamic government has succeeded," said Mohammed Shah Fazli, the vice president who belongs to Rabbani's party. "But there are some people who still benefit from war."

Afghanistan was riddled with

The fighting in both Kabul and the countryside is sporadic. The capital sometimes feels so calm that it's impossible to find the front lines.

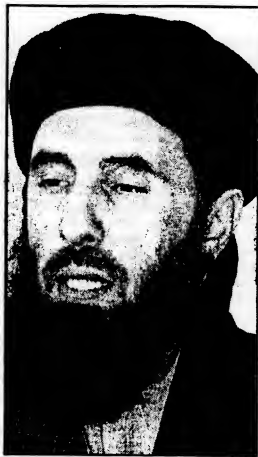
But the next morning one awakes to the thunder of rockets raining randomly on the city. After several hours the attack stops as suddenly as it began, with no ground gained or lost.

It's business as usual on the dirt roads and narrow alleys of Kabul's main bazaar. The wooden vending stalls are packed with shoppers jostling to buy fruit, nuts, and fresh bread, all in abundance. One man sells sizzling kebabs, standing next to his wheelbarrow filled with sheep heads, freshly cut.

Yet in the nearby Tagab Valley, 40 miles to the northeast, Hekmatyar's troops have been waging a bloody battle with Rabbani's forces. Hundreds have died, mostly civilians, since the fighting erupted Nov. 1.

Many Afghans saw Hekmatyar as a hero for his key role in the guerrilla campaign that drove the Soviet army out of Afghanistan. Now, many blame him for the ongoing fighting.

Sher Momad, a broom maker in



**GULBUDDIN HEKMATYAR**  
Has yet to set foot in capital

the Kabul bazaar, explained it like this: "If people don't like my brooms, then I have stop making them and find a new business."

"But if our leaders are unpopular, they don't leave their jobs," he said. "They just keep on fighting."

THE RECORD DECEMBER 1, 1993

## Hilal restored as Afghan Dy. Premier

**KABUL, Dec. 20:** Qutbuddin Hilal resumed his responsibilities on Monday as first Afghan Deputy Prime Minister, ending speculation of a party coup against Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar triggered by his 50-day absence from Kabul.

Hilal, who said he was on an official mission to Pakistan, told reporters that Acting Deputy Premier Qazi Amin had handed over the office to him without any delay.

The party's number two, Hilal had left amid fighting in Tagab, 70 kilometres (43 miles) east of the capital, when the state's security forces started a campaign against members of Hekmatyar's Hezb-e-Islami faction.

Some 100 high-ranking Hezb members were detained during the operation.

During his absence, Hilal was replaced by second Deputy Pre-

mier Arsalah Rahmani, who, after a brief stay, left for Sudan to attend an Islamic conference.

Hekmatyar, who prefers to stay at the eastern Hezb base of Chaharasiab, appointed his deputy, Waqad, as Acting Deputy Prime Minister.

But state-run Radio Kabul, which is controlled by Rabbani's camp, last week announced that the prime minister had transferred all his authority to Waqad.

The broadcast said the president had endorsed the takeover and advised Hekmatyar's ministers to cooperate with Waqad, considered acceptable to Rabbani.

A presidential spokesman hinted at the possibility of top level disension in Hekmatyar's party.

Denying any split, Hilal said Waqad handed over the office "the moment I reached Kabul" and resumed his original responsibility as minister of communication —

AFP

PT 12/21

# Ousted Soviet puppet claims social security

THE former prime minister of Afghanistan, whose government Britain never recognised and spent millions of pounds trying to overthrow, is living in north London on social security.

Sultan Ali Khestmand, 58, was a central figure in Afghanistan's left-wing revolution and prime minister during the Soviet occupation. Having arrived in Britain as a refugee a year ago, he is living in a Brent council flat in Wembley. He receives housing benefit and income support.

Mr Khestmand, whose government was branded by Britain as a Soviet puppet regime, said he flew to London on a transit visa he collected from the British Embassy in Kiev. He said he had no possessions, friends helped him buy his air ticket and he carried less than \$100 (about £60) in his pocket when he arrived at Heathrow. His diplomatic passport listed his profession as "former prime minister".

An attempt to settle in Paris, where his brother was chargé d'affaires at the Afghan embassy, was rejected by the French government because it said it could not guarantee his safety. He said the Home Office knew of his whereabouts in London and checked his movements from time to time. He also had a brother living as a refugee in the Netherlands.

We met in the BBC canteen after he had addressed a seminar at the London School of Economics on Tajikistan, the former Soviet republic which borders Afghanistan. He said he was only beginning to adjust to life in Britain, adding that he was invited from time to time to make speeches about his role during the Soviet period in Afghanistan.

He decided to seek asylum and refugee status in Britain because he had "no chance to live

safely in Afghanistan" and because he could speak a little English. He added that he also had great respect for Britain's stand on human rights.

The British authorities had been "very good to me. As a refugee I was given a lump sum of money and I now have a weekly allowance. I am not discriminated against nor do I have any privileges as former prime minister."

He lives with his daughter, 26, a widow with two children and his son, 22, a medical student; they joined their father after he came to Britain. Most of his day is spent helping his family, he said.

Mr Khestmand survived an assassination attempt in Kabul in February 1992, two months before the regime of President Najibullah was overthrown by anti-communist insurgents. Mrs Thatcher's "freedom fighters" who Britain had backed



Ali Khestmand

with military aid, training, and money.

After being shot while leaving a mosque, Mr Khestmand was flown to Moscow for treatment by Russian and French doctors. A bullet had entered the back of his head, leaving him paralysed down one side of his face. He is on an NHS waiting list for a third, and he hopes, final operation.

A Home office spokeswoman said that, as soon as Mr Khestmand had been granted asylum, "he would get the same benefits everyone else in this country is entitled to."

By Michael Fathers

INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY  
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## Journalist From Oakton Is One Of Two Being Held in Afghanistan

By Patricia Davis  
Washington Post Staff Writer

An Associated Press reporter who grew up in Oakton and graduated from a Falls Church high school is one of two reporters being held by Muslim fundamentalist guerrillas in Afghanistan, the State Department said yesterday.

The AP's John Jennings and Terence White, a New Zealander who reports for Agence France-Presse, were captured Monday by fighters from Afghanistan's Hezb-i-Islami faction, which is led by Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

"Both are reportedly unharmed and in good health," State Department spokesman Mike McCurry told the Associated Press. "Despite assurances by Hekmatyar's organization that Jennings and White would be quickly released, they are still being held. The United States is concerned about this situation."

Hekmatyar's aides have promised that the journalists will be freed, saying they are in good condition and being treated as guests rather than prisoners, the AP reported. Hezb-i-Islami officials said that the reporters happened to be with 28 Afghans captured at the time and that they were not intentionally targeted.

"We're hopeful," Jennings's mother, Mary Jennings, 53, said Friday. "They are both very seasoned and very accustomed to the Afghan way of life."

John Jennings, 33, went to Pakistan seven years ago and has been reporting in Afghanistan for the AP since 1991. He lives in Kabul. White has been working in Afghanistan for more than a year.

Jennings graduated from George C. Marshall High School in Falls Church in 1978, where he

worked on the school newspaper and ran cross country, his mother said. He was a Middle Eastern studies major at the University of Arizona, she said.

Jennings, who speaks fluent Farsi and other languages, has a younger brother, Jason, and a step-sister, Rachel Ross, his mother said. "Jason is here writing his hands," said Mary Jennings, a lawyer for the Merit Systems Protection Board in the District. She tried to get word to her son through the Red Cross, saying that everyone hopes he's being treated well as reported and asking him to "call us when he gets out."

Jennings said she last saw her son in June, at her home on Vale Road in Oakton. While traveling with her son, she met White, who has a "real cool head," she said. "They're together. That makes me feel a lot better," she said.

Meanwhile, in Dayton, Ohio, John Jennings's father, Max Jennings, was trying to learn more about his son's situation. Jennings, editor of the Dayton Daily News, said his son visited him in the spring. "My staff is all upset," said Jennings, a former foreign correspondent for United Press International.

Max Jennings said his son, whom he adopted when John was 5, is very familiar with the people and the politics in Afghanistan. "All of a sudden it seems like the rules have changed. That's what's most disturbing to me," Jennings said.

The reporters were covering a battle between Hezb-i-Islami and President Burhanuddin Rabbani's Jamiat-i-Islami militia near Tagab, 40 miles northeast of Kabul, the Afghan capital, the AP said.

U.S. officials have contacted the Afghan Embassy in Washington and are following up with officials and Hekmatyar's representatives in Islamabad, Pakistan, to press for the pair's freedom, McCurry said.

## Private bank opened

President Rabbani inaugurated the first private bank in Afghanistan in the last week of September in Kabul which will work on the basis of profit and loss share (Mudhariba).

Necessary laws have been passed by the President to allow formation of such banks.

The first private bank is owned by Gulabuddin Sherzai, a businessman from Herat.

AFGHANews October, 1993

WASHINGTON POST

NOVEMBER 1



Ruby Washington/The New York Times

Abdul Samad, a 20-year-old from Afghanistan, said, "I'm here to get an education and to get something for the future."

## Thriving on Difference

### International High Students Speak Language of Learning

By LYNDA RICHARDSON

Abdul Samad, a 20-year-old from Afghanistan, went to school for the first time three years ago. He said he did not know a word of English when he was admitted into the International High School in Queens. He felt blind and deaf and panicky.

"I was very crazy," said the high school student, dressed in a black leather jacket and jeans. "I wondered, 'How am I going to learn this language or study this? I've never been to school.' I didn't know how to write the alphabet."

Abdul is now a model student at International High, an alternative public school that is nationally recognized for the way immigrant students are taught and valued. He will graduate this spring as a senior, but came to school already a man.

Since age 10, Abdul had fought as a guerrilla rebel against the occupying Soviet forces in his homeland. He saw 10 friends die in combat and was hospitalized himself at age 14 with a bullet in his leg. He recalls precisely how he killed two Russian soldiers at point-blank range. He said they had fatally wounded his mother and seriously injured his father and three brothers in a bombing of his house.

He found his way to America through a network of Afghan contacts, and like thousands of other young immigrants each year, filtered into the New York City school system, where the foreign-born population has more than tripled in the last four years.

As issues such as violence, apathy and disenfranchisement dominate public discussion of the New York City school system, the International High School offers a glimmer of hope to immi-

grant youths on a first-come, first-served basis.

The school, on the sprawling campus of La Guardia Community College, admits only students who have been in the United States for less than four years and score low in English proficiency on a standardized language assessment test.

Enrollment reflects geopolitics. The 460 students, who are from 60 countries and speak 42 languages, come from places

often in turmoil. When the school opened eight years ago as a joint effort of the Board of Education and the City University of New York, there were only a handful of students from Eastern Europe. Now Eastern Europeans are the third largest group, with 128 students. The biggest representation is from Spanish-speaking countries, followed by the Asian bloc, including China, Hong Kong, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan.

When Abdul arrived, he was met with a swell of support from teachers and other students. He was thrown into classes — the school does not separate students according to their varying abilities in English — and his Afghan-speaking classmates helped him learn English, even as he went to classes in science, math, history and art. The teachers would speak slowly, write names and draw pictures to guide him along, and they started him off with easier assignments.

#### Impressive Academic Record

At International High, teachers and staff break the mold in the way English is traditionally taught to students with limited English proficiency. Every teacher doubles as an English instructor to some extent, reinforcing language development as they teach instruction in the core subject areas.

#### Learning to Get Along

It was not long after Abdul arrived at the high school before teachers and counselors noticed his tenseness around Russian students. "He used to jump on anything a Russian said and make fun of it," said Ruthellyn Weiner, an assistant principal. "He would not get into physical stuff, but there would be verbal sparring."

But Abdul found that his enmity toward Russians had no place in the school. Every day, students have to work together in small groups to complete assignments. Some of his classmates were Russian.

"Just because of the constant working in groups, conflicts couldn't exist in that fashion," said the assistant principal. "He dealt with it. It was not even acceptable to him."

Abdul has now set his sights on life after high school. He aspires to be a pilot.

"I'm here to get an education and to get something for the future," he said during a class break. "In America, anything you want to do is possible."

The New York Times

DECEMBER 28, 1993

The school has an impressive record of academic success. Ninety-three percent of the students go on to college and more than 90 percent graduate having taken at least one regular college-level course at La Guardia Community College.

"It's an extraordinary place," said Jacqueline Anness, a senior research associate at the National Center for Restructuring Education, Schools and Teaching at Teachers' College, Columbia University. "This school makes sure these students have a future and gives them the skills for the future. It lets them know that they are valued."

There is a calm, mature air about the business of education at International High. There are no school bells. Classrooms are dispersed throughout the campus, and students carry college IDs, enroll in college courses, eat in the college cafeteria and work out in the college gym. They participate in a career-oriented internship program outside the school for one third of each school year.

The population of the school, which was intended to accommodate between 400 and 500 students, is also small enough so that the staff gets to know students.



# State of the Peoples

## A Global Human Rights Report on Societies in Danger

Marc S. Miller, Project Director  
With the staff of Cultural Survival

Beacon Press Boston

### AFGHAN NOMADS



The pastoral nomads of Afghanistan are victims of the long-term warfare that began with the Soviet invasion in 1979. The warfare continues despite the Russian withdrawal and the collapse of the communist regime in Afghanistan.

Many millions of land mines are scattered indiscriminately over the Afghan landscape, making many traditional migration routes and pasture lands dangerous. The war also sharpened ethnic lines: Pashtun nomads have found themselves deprived of grazing rights by Tajik and Uzbek villagers in the north and by Hazaras in the center of Afghanistan.

Since the nomads' way of life depends on mobility and secure access to far-flung resources, a culturally distinct way of life is at risk. Although nomads constituted between 15 and 20 percent of the pre-war population of Afghanistan, reconstruction plans have almost entirely neglected their needs. They are not politically organized as a group, and historically they have been at odds with whatever government ruled Afghanistan.

THOMAS J. BARFIELD

### AFGHAN HINDUS AND SIKHS

The fall of the leftist regime of Najib Allah in 1992 was a joyous occasion for Afghanistan that lasted but a few days. The first Kabul residents to suffer under the new order, the Hindus and Sikhs, faced open religious and cultural persecution, and many were expelled to India. The fate of these minorities was even worse in Jalalabad, where Hindu and Sikh temples were burned and businesses were ransacked. In Kabul, Hindu and Sikh women were raped in public, and Hindu and Sikh houses were looted.

The UN General Assembly has raised the question of the rights of religious minorities in Afghanistan, indirectly referring to the Hindus and Sikhs, but it has taken no action. The argument is that the Hindus and Sikhs belong culturally and ethnically to India; that is the claim of the Afghans who are promulgating the expulsion and harassment of Hindus and Sikhs. Hindus and Sikhs living abroad are denied their right to obtain an Afghan passport.

Though the Hindus and Sikhs are a small minority in Afghanistan—250,000 and 150,000, respectively—their treatment by the authorities has a great impact on the survival of all minorities. The Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan are Afghans; any failure to respect their rights undercuts the unity of Afghanistan as a diverse nation.

AMIN TARZI

### HAZARAH OF AFGHANISTAN

An estimated 1.3 to 1.7 million Hazarachs, a people of Mongol ancestry, inhabit most of central Afghanistan, which is called Hazarajat. Their language is a distinct dialect of Persian known as Hazaragi. They are not only an ethnic minority but also a religious one. Most Hazarachs are Shi'ahs of the Imami school; some belong to the Isma'ili Shi'ahs. There are also some Sunnis among the Hazarachs.

In the course of Afghan history, beginning in 1747, Hazarachs have been subjected to repeated attempts by the dominant Pashtuns to bring them under direct rule and to usurp their autonomy and cultural diversity. None of the campaigns against the Hazarachs was more destructive than the late-nineteenth-century wars of 'Abd al-Rahman Khan, who tried to end Hazarah autonomy through force and imposed integration. He also gave great portions of Hazarah land to the Pashtuns. Although 'Abd al-Rahman Khan abolished slavery in Afghanistan, this rule did not apply to the Hazarachs.

The Hazarachs survived and retained their different culture, despite immense difficulties, until the end of the leftist regime in Kabul in 1992. Now, however, they could face their toughest challenge, one that might mean the end of an entire group.

The Hazarachs are being systematically persecuted and killed by various non-Hazarah and non-Shi'ah groups. They are accused of having separatist ideas and of being bad Muslims. In the civil strife that has engulfed Afghanistan since the fall of Kabul, every group attacks its rival's military and civilian targets, but Hazarachs are attacked just for being Hazarah. They are systematically captured and killed, and there are many reports of rapes of Hazarah women in Kabul.

AMIN TARZI



## HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT

On November 16, the UN distributed a report on THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN AFGHANISTAN. The 29-page report was prepared by Felix Ermacora, the Special Rapporteur for the UN Commission on Human Rights. Excerpts follow:

26. Despite the formation of an Islamic Government, the rivalry between the groups whose leaders or members are ministers in the coalition Government has continued and their differences have not been resolved through negotiation, as envisaged in the Islamabad and Jalalabad accords. The fighting in Kabul is mainly between the Hezbe Wahadat and Ittehad Islami forces and remains constant. In the beginning, the most serious fighting took place between the Shurae Nazar (composed of forces belonging to the Jamiat political party headed by President Rabbani and the party of Ahmad Shah Massoud, former Minister for Defence) and Hezbe Islami (Hekmatyar) headed by Prime Minister Hekmatyar. The mayor of Kabul informed the Special Rapporteur that, during the past year, approximately 36,000 houses were partly or fully destroyed while more than 30,000 were damaged as a result of this conflict. A representative of the Afghan Red Crescent Society said that it is estimated that 10,000 persons have been killed during the same period. Even in the past few months, approximately 100 persons have been killed in rocket attacks.

27. The present situation is such that the Prime Minister is reportedly unable to enter the capital, while the President is said to be unable to leave it beyond a radius of one kilometre. In a news interview, Prime Minister Hekmatyar recently stated: "I must say that Kabul has been divided into 12 independent zones, with specific 'Berlin Walls'". (The Frontier Post, 19 September 1993)

28. This "coalition" arrangement, whose principal feature is rivalry, is not automatically reflected in the governmental structure of the provinces. It would appear that the party structure is either non-existent or that the parties are grouped into different shuras (councils). The western part of the country, comprising areas which once made up the greater Herat Province, is governed by Ismail Khan, who became a prominent mujahid commander in the Herat area after leading the mutiny of the 17th Division of the Afghan army.

29. A number of provinces in the northern part of the country are governed by Abdul Rashid Dostom, a former militia leader, who was promoted to the rank of general by former President Mojjadidi. Recently he has had to face the conflict in neighbouring Tajikistan, whose effects have spilled over into Afghanistan. (For additional details, see S/26145 and S/26241.)

30. The eastern part of Afghanistan, in particular Nangarhar Province, is ruled by Governor Haji Abdul Qadeer, who heads a coalition of parties comprising the Nangarhar shura and the area was peaceful until February 1993. The first sign of unrest was the ambush and killing of three members of United Nations personnel near the capital, Jalalabad, which the Special Rapporteur had visited the previous day.

31. The discord among the members of the shura was further accentuated at the beginning of September 1993 when the Deputy Governor of Nangarhar Province, Haji Shamali Khan, his brother and six of his associates were assassinated in Jalalabad. More than 80 persons are alleged to have been killed in the ensuing armed conflict, which began in the area of Sarobi on 10 October 1993 between the local Hezbe Islami commander and the forces of the Nangarhar shura. According to Le Monde of 16 October 1993, it has resulted in more than 100 deaths, principally among civilians, while several hundred persons were wounded.

## From battleground to backwater

Its main exports are Islamic warriors, refugees and opium. Its main resources are weapons and scrap metal. The prime minister cannot enter Kabul, his capital, and lobs his calling card in the form of artillery shells. The rest of the country is controlled, more or less, by warlords whose power is assessed by the number of ragtag fighters they can afford to pay. The government, which does not even control all of Kabul, has no revenue and provides no nationwide services: no schools, no post offices, no hospitals, no electricity, no telephones. Four years after it ceased serving as a battleground for the superpower struggle, Afghanistan has become just another faraway place consuming itself in fratricidal war.

With the Soviets long gone, except for some 20,000 Russian troops dispatched to help Tajikistan block cross-border aid to Tajik rebels, Afghans have turned their heavy weapons on one another. Shia is fighting Sunni and Tajik is warring against Pakhtun in a shifting set of factional alliances based on ethnic animosity and personal ambition. One result has been the destruction of Kabul, which went largely untouched during the anti-Soviet jihad. Another has been to turn off foreign donors and to consign Afghanistan to the international "too hard" file.

Afghanistan today is a country only in the sense that it occupies a single France-size territory on the map and one of the bottom rungs in world economic tables. And statistics do not measure the endless stretches of moonscape, littered with shattered villages, graves, burnt-out tanks and live land mines. Nobody expects a political reconciliation anytime soon. A top Afghan watcher in Pakistan predicts that the factional fighting may continue for another decade. Pakistani and United Nations mediators who spent years trying to coax the faction leaders into a working coalition have now given up.

**Pockets of peace.** The world has good reason to give up on Afghanistan, too. Yet it is at least as deserving as today's other basket cases. For one thing, none of its warring tribes and factions is seeking independence; all claim to be loyal Afghans, merely jockeying for a bigger piece of the political action. So while the country is divided into de facto fiefdoms, there is no imminent threat of balkanization. Much of Afghanistan is peaceful much of the time, and in most districts there is a commander or a tribal leadership or a council of elders with some local legitimacy. Such pockets of peace are often also centers of free enterprise. In Mazar-

i-Sharif, a regional crossroads where the powerful Gen. Rashid Dostum reigns, entrepôt trade and commerce are booming and satellite dishes are sprouting from mud huts.

Afghans have a native resourcefulness and resilience that have enabled them to survive the harshest conditions and kept malnutrition to a minimum despite a standard of living the U.N. calls "sub-subsistence." But this works to Afghans' disadvantage in the aid game. The 2.5 million Afghan refugees who have returned to freezing winters and demolished villages got far less international help than the 350,000 Cambodian refugees who were given door-to-door service back to their verdant tropical homes.

The absence of a functioning central government makes Afghanistan ineligible for large-scale infrastructure aid, which would be unusable now anyway. The United States, which provided the Afghan mujaheddin with \$7 billion worth of arms to defeat the Soviets, is cutting back a small economic-aid program. Donors have responded ungenerously to U.N. fund-raising for humanitarian aid. The last two appeals, for \$290 million for 15 months, brought in only \$125 million. Funds ran so short this fall that a mine-clearing operation on a refugee repatriation route had to be stopped. The U.N. is now asking for \$60 million plus fuel supplies for the winter months. Compare this with the \$300 million the United States has offered Somalia or the \$3 billion the U.N. spent in Cambodia, which has half the population of Afghanistan and one twentieth the number of refugees.

The U.N. Development Program has found a way around the power vacuum in Kabul. It seeks out local headmen to advise on local priorities and then prepares community-based projects. The UNDP operates like a guerrilla army: If a work site gets caught up in violence, relief workers pack up and move on. One of its objectives is to draw home the 3.5 million Afghan refugees still living in Pakistan and Iran. Another is to promote demobilization of the factional armies by creating alternative work for their fighters. In a country so deprived, demand for the UNDP's brand of simple rural repair schemes is infinite.

Donors rose to the challenge in Cambodia, partly out of guilt for failing to stop the genocide there. Gratitude is a more suitable sentiment in Afghanistan, where guerrilla warriors humbled the mighty Soviet Army. Afghans are too self-reliant to be beggars. But they deserve more than small change when the U.N. passes the hat.



32. Kandahar Province, in south-eastern Afghanistan, is also not free from conflict resulting from party rivalries. The particularity of the situation is that the rivalry between the two parties in conflict is not necessarily reflected in other parts of the country where their forces are present. Fighting has also taken place in Helmand Province and on 27 September 1993 in the north of the country. Only a few provinces are calm and more or less safe. Political problems in Afghanistan are solved partly through peaceful discussion, and partly by the use of arms which are spread throughout the country, and the latent unrest may erupt at any time.

43. The repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan decreased dramatically in 1993, and there was also a reverse movement. Approximately 96,000 new refugees have come to Pakistan since April 1992, mostly from urban areas and principally as a result of the turmoil in Kabul. It is estimated that 20 to 25 per cent of the new refugees are those who had returned to Afghanistan in 1992. The Special Rapporteur was able to interview a number of them in September 1993, at Hayatabad, near Peshawar. They were living in shelters with no electricity, water, doors or at times even roofs, in unsanitary conditions, which have generated skin disorders and stomach and kidney problems, especially among children. Of the 600 to 700 families living there, only some 10 to 15 had ration booklets. They were also harassed by the local police. The reasons invoked by the new arrivals and by refugees who are reluctant to return are the absence of a stable and effective government, lack of security, the absence of an economic structure and activities, rocketing, destruction of their homes, the threat of rape and murder, corruption, the existence of extensive minefields, and the general lack of a congenial social environment.

44. During his last visit to Afghanistan, the Special Rapporteur was able to observe the destruction in both villages and cities. He visited the western part of Herat which has been razed. Extensive destruction has also taken place in a number of neighbourhoods in Kabul, such as the area of the university, the Silo area, Mirwais Maidan, Afshar, Karte Sé, Karte Char, Karte Nau, Kote Sangi and Khair Khana. He was also able to observe the destruction of agricultural land in the countryside around Jalalabad.

45. In addition to refugees, it is estimated that approximately one third of Afghanistan's population is displaced internally, and that between 100,000 and 600,000 persons left Kabul in 1992. During his visits to Afghanistan in September 1992 and January/February 1993, the Special Rapporteur visited camps for displaced persons near Jalalabad and spoke to displaced persons at Mazar-i-Sharif. They told him of their suffering and anxieties, and how little assistance they were receiving. Many were eyewitnesses to looting, killing and even rape, which were additional reasons for persons to become refugees or internally displaced. Some 35,000 persons fled from Faryab to Badghis Province in September 1993 because of clashes between armed groups. In addition, it is estimated that some 7,000 Afghan families living near the border with Tajikistan had fled to Taloqan as a result of the conflict in that country.

47. World public opinion has manifested a certain interest in the fate of members of the Sikh and Hindu communities which had settled in Afghanistan several centuries ago. At the time of the Special Rapporteur's visit to Kabul in September 1993, it was reported that 70 per cent of Sikh and Hindu families had left the city in 1992 because of intensive rocket attacks, looting and a general lack of security. Racial, ethnic or religious discrimination has not been cited as a reason for leaving. The heads of approximately half of the families which left in 1992 had reportedly returned to assess the security situation. The members of the Sikh and Hindu communities with whom the Special Rapporteur spoke expressed the wish that the Embassy of India in Kabul should be reopened. They stated that no women belonging to those communities were raped.

48. The Special Rapporteur's attention has been drawn to a specific problem concerning the situation of Afghan refugees in the Islamic Republic of Iran, namely, the forcible repatriation of thousands of persons which began in April 1993 but has intensified since June. Of the approximately 8,000 persons who crossed the border into Afghanistan in August, some 10 per cent are reported to have been deported, 570 of them on two consecutive days. Ninety-five per cent of the forcible departures were from Khorasan Province, from which 300 Afghan families were deported in July. The Special Rapporteur discussed the problem with the Minister for Refugee and Repatriates Affairs of Afghanistan.

49. During his visit to Herat, the Special Rapporteur heard a number of witnesses who provided him with detailed information on the circumstances of their deportation from the Islamic Republic of Iran. Men were often picked up in the street, at their place of work or from buses. Their identity cards would be confiscated or torn up on the spot, thereby depriving them of the authorization to reside in the country. Some were transferred immediately to the border while others were detained. A number of persons were forced to pay exorbitant taxes, abandon their profession or leave their businesses and homes. Pressure on Afghan refugees has also been exercised by cutting off their water and electricity supplies.

50. Additional problems faced recently by returning refugees in the north of Afghanistan were harassment and robbery. Armed men would ask for money and fuel. In a number of incidents in September and October 1993, refugees were caught in armed conflicts opposing regional forces which would simply confiscate the lorries to transport ammunition and food. Other refugees were forced to transport ammunition when they refused to get off the lorry. Medical or other assistance was often not provided to persons shot or injured during such incidents, in which a number of refugees were killed. The commander of the garrison in one locality beat a refugee who had spoken with the representatives of an international non-governmental organization. It has also been alleged that a number of local officials prevented refugees who had arrived in their towns from leaving for 25 or more days at a time.

80. During his visit to Kabul in September 1993, the Special Rapporteur was able to visit the area of the University, which was subjected to heavy rocket fire, so that many parts have been completely destroyed. He visited in particular the main building of the Medical Faculty, which has been devastated. Furniture, including the seats in the auditorium, and even washbasins have been either looted or destroyed. What remained of books and documents was scattered all over the floors. Not a single window remained unbroken and the walls were black and burned.

81. The Special Rapporteur also visited other areas in Kabul, including the western and southern parts of the city, where no building remains undamaged. He drove through Maiwand Avenue, whose concrete buildings have been so heavily damaged that they recall the cities of Europe after the bombardments of the Second World War.

84. On 22 June 1993, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, Suleiman Gailani, stated at the World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna that the Government was making extensive efforts to enable Afghan women to enjoy their rights and creating better opportunities for them. The Government hoped that the existing problems concerning women's rights would be gradually solved and that favourable conditions would be created for their effective participation in the political, economic and social life of the society.

85. During his meeting with the Special Rapporteur in September 1993, the First Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Qutbuddin Hilal, stated that women enjoyed numerous rights under Islam. He indicated however that it would be difficult for women to participate in elections, in view of the low rate of literacy among them.

86. With regard to education, the representative of the Council of Nangarhar Province informed the Special Rapporteur that 26,000 female students were studying in educational institutions at all levels, while 42 seats at the University of Jalalabad were allocated especially for female students. The staff member from the Centre for Human Rights of the Secretariat who accompanied the Special Rapporteur during his mission to the area was invited to visit a school for girls, and to meet with women, in particular with widows.

87. The Jalalabad Accord concluded on 19 May 1993 stipulates that "the shariah veil shall be strictly observed". In his report to the Commission on Human Rights (E/CN.4/1993/42, para. 32), the Special Rapporteur indicated that no women reporters were allowed on Afghan television. He was subsequently informed that women were authorized to appear on the government-run television station in April 1993. During his visit to Afghanistan in September 1993, the Special Rapporteur was able to observe women presenting the evening news.

88. Representatives of the Afghan Women's Association informed the Special Rapporteur about the organization and activities of the Association, which used to have productive activities, such as carpet weaving, sewing, knitting and the fabrication of handicrafts. Its educational activities included Islamic and language courses, and courses intended to raise the consciousness of women. The Special Rapporteur was informed that most of those activities had come to a halt as a result of destruction and looting of the machines, cassettes and other material perpetrated by armed members of the government militia and other mujahideen factions during the transitional period.

89. The situation of women in Afghanistan also has a dark side which was manifested during the recent period of unrest, particularly in Kabul. The Special Rapporteur was informed of numerous cases of rape; he was also given the names of several women and girls who chose to commit suicide to avoid being raped, and told of the circumstances in which they died. The systematic practice of rape in Kabul in 1992 and 1993 prompted a prominent Afghan lady to state that women had never been dishonoured in this way in Afghanistan before. The Special Rapporteur was informed about atrocities such as the massive rape and abduction of women during the fighting in the Afshar and other neighbourhoods of Kabul in February 1993, the reported offer for sale of some 80 women held captive by an armed group affiliated to a particular party and the systematic rape of women and girls in a mental asylum. A woman was forced by armed men to give birth in a vehicle on the street. It appears that none of the persons who committed such acts have been prosecuted by the competent judicial authorities.

90. The Special Rapporteur was told that women in Afghanistan were not well served by their present political rights, and that women in the provinces were probably in a better situation from the standpoint of security than in Kabul but were less aware of their overall position in society.

94. The Afghan Peace Accord stipulates that an all-party committee shall be constituted to supervise control over the monetary system and currency regulations, to keep them in conformity with existing Afghan banking laws and regulations. However, the Division of Powers annexed to the Accord stipulates that the President is empowered to grant formal permission to print money. Prime Minister Hekmatyar is reported to have stated that the Afghan currency continues to be printed in the Russian Federation and is received by the President, who then distributes it among the parties that are members of the coalition Government and to the Municipality of Kabul.

UPDATE: KABUL MUSEUM  
December 1993

In November, UNOCHA asked the UN Center for Human Settlements (HABITAT), a British NGO providing housing assistance in Kabul, to try to ascertain the possibility of weatherproofing the Kabul Museum before the winter. This was a welcome response to an appeal passed on by the Museum staff through my report [Nancy Hatch Dupree, See FORUM XXI, 6, pp. 19-20.] The rocket that hit the Museum on 5/12/93 destroyed the roof. It was feared that snow accumulation could collapse the upper floors; rain could flood the basement where quantities of artifacts are stored.

The area where the Museum is was taken over from Shura Nazar forces by Hezbe Wahdat after the rocket attack. When contacted in mid-November, Ustad Abdul Ali Mazari, the Hezbe Wahdat commander now controlling the area, readily provided access to the Museum for an assessment. HABITAT reported that, while the windows on the lower ground floor of the main (original) wing were broken, none of the steel bars over these windows were damaged. This suggested that no entry from the outside had been possible. Nevertheless, cases stood open inside every room indicating considerable disturbance of the original packing. Similar disturbances were noted in the more extensively destroyed new wing, where the windows were badly damaged, thus providing easy access to the cases in this area.

The flimsy paper seals pasted over door-jambs of the upper ground floor storerooms were intact, but these were easily replaceable. In addition, some large steel boxes had been moved to this level, ostensibly to facilitate the removal of rubble from the collapsed roof. This was an alarming development as the rubble is everywhere mixed with fragments of artifacts. Photographs are distressingly graphic. The photos also show that filing cabinets containing museum records and catalogs have been indiscriminately dumped; much of the paper badly charred.

Hasps have been unscrewed and locks have been ripped off the steel storage boxes; many are ominously light in weight, suggesting they are empty. Drawers and crates have been methodically emptied onto the floor. Some items, seen previously, have been moved recently toward damaged and, therefore, more accessible windows. BBC representatives also noted the movement of objects to more vulnerable positions in the one-week interval between visits. It appeared that most of the storage rooms were being thoroughly ransacked.

Remedial measures recommended by HABITAT include securing windows with stone or brick masonry, weatherproofing the flooring over the stores and fitting the storerooms with steel doors.

On receipt of the assessment report, Sotirios Mousouris, the UN Sec'y Gen'l's Personal Representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan, who had been urging UNESCO action since October, flew to Kabul on 11/29 to meet with Abdul Ali Mazari. He visited the Museum where he was the first observer allowed to enter the coin room. He found the drawers empty. Without waiting for the UNESCO mission proposed for 12/31/93 to 1/14/94, Mr. Mousouris persuaded Mazari to allow the urgent repair work to begin immediately so as to salvage what is left. Mazari agreed to provide security for the workers and a committee, including museum staff member Najibullah Popal, will supervise the work.

The next urgent task is to check objects against the original inventory. Considering the chaotic state of the records, it will undoubtedly be necessary to elicit the assistance of all those formerly engaged with the Museum and with the excavations from which most of its collections were recovered. To this end an association will be established (probably in London). Mr. Mousouris has also requested UNESCO to alert the appropriate authorities policing stolen art objects. [Nancy urges any readers interested in assisting in any manner to contact her by airmail at UPO Box 860, Peshawar, Pakistan.]



There are persistent reports that during the last months of the former regime, some important objects were shifted from the Museum to the Ministry of Information and Culture in the center of Kabul. The Begram ivories are mentioned in this regard. Also, no observer has reported seeing the Fondukistan statuery. Too large to be boxed, too conspicuous to go unnoticed, were they moved? Is the Tillya Tepe golden hoard intact in a bank vault inside the Arg? What else may have been placed in the bank vault? There are many questions. There is much to do. Hopefully it will be possible to station someone in Kabul for the specific purpose of answering these questions before much longer. In the meantime I look forward to hearing from many of you with your suggestions.

Nancy Hatch Dupree  
Peshawar, Pakistan  
12/15/93

The following items are from Nancy Dupree's report to UNOCHA on her late September visit to Kabul:

#### NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Housed in a palace built ca. 1890 for Prince (later Amir, 1901-1919) Habibullah which later became the Military Academy and then the Italian Embassy before falling into ruins while being occupied by a police garrison. Restoration began in 1973 and was just completed at the time of the 1978 coup. Of extreme interest architecturally, the interior preserves unique stenciled-tin and silver-embossed carved wooden ceilings. Furniture made in Amir Abdur Rahman's (1880-1901) workshops is also on display.

The building is in excellent condition and has suffered no intrusions. The President is knowledgeable and obviously proud of the fine collection of 30,000 items, many of which are illuminated and date from the 16th and 17th centuries. The display cases now hold only photocopies of selected manuscripts. The originals are said to be safely stored in the basement under the best controlled atmospheric conditions possible considering the partial and erratic supply of electricity. The important collection of antique photographs is also said to be intact.

#### NATIONAL GALLERY

The National Gallery was opened in 1986 in the home of the Ghulam Haider Charkhi family who figured so prominently in the power struggles of the 1920s and early 30s.

The collection of about 800 paintings consists of many works confiscated from Zahir Shah's palace and the homes of the deposed royal family. Many are by European artists and to my mind of rather mediocre quality, but it was difficult to tell as the galleries are naturally dark and there was no electricity. There are, nevertheless, numerous works by popular Afghan artists of the 1960s, including Professor Ghafour Brechna, Ustad Ghiassudin, and Khair Mohammad, who continue to inspire young Afghan artists today. This is, therefore, an important collection for the history of the development of Western art in Afghanistan.

VIII.3 Built in a style typical of the 1920s Amanullah period, the building has large salons and spacious enclosed verandas but it is in disrepair and the Director is worried about the massive amounts of coal dust from a charcoal depot recently installed in the compound. The greasy soot is now settling over the paintings.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

SISTERS ON THE BRIDGE OF FIRE, Journeys in the Crucible of High Asia, by Debra Denker, Burning Gate Press, 18401 Burbank Blvd., Suite 123, Tarzana, CA 91356. \$15.95; +\$2 shipping & handling. "Author, photographer, film-maker, & NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC writer Debra Denker travelled for the last 15 years in the region of High Asia encompassing Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir, India, Nepal & Tibet.... One of the few American women to travel as a journalist with the Afghan Mujahideen on their forays against the Soviet Army, Debra shares the profound lessons she learned from her lone pilgrimages to the vast & wild interior of Asia, & the people she met on these journeys, ranging from Kalash shamans, Tibetan lamas, & Sufi saints in Hunza & Afghanistan to rugged Afghan Resistance fighters, Tibetan orphans, & ordinary women of extraordinary courage battling to save their culture in Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan." [From the blurb.]

Rosanne Klass has written about "little-known cases of contemporary genocide in Afghanistan" in GENOCIDE: A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHIC REVIEW, Vol. 3, edited by Israel W. Charny, to be published in March 1994 by Transaction Press, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, 430pp., \$49.95. ISBN 1-56000-172-0.

AFGHANISTAN AND THE FRONTIER, edited by Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah Kakakhel, EMJAY Books Int'l., Peshawar, 1993. 321 pp.

HOLY BLOOD, AN INSIDE VIEW OF THE AF-GHAN WAR by Paul Overby, Greenwood Publishing Group, 88 Post Road West, P.O. Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881. 248 pp., maps, photos, \$55. ISBN 0-275-94622-3. "... a firsthand account of the Afghan war set against an extensive & thoroughly researched background of political history... He sees the war growing from the angry tension over modernization in Afghanistan & sets it in its context as an expression of Islamism - the most modern &

dynamic version of Islamic fundamentalism." [from the blurb.]

STATE OF THE PEOPLES, A Global Human Rights Report on Societies in Danger, edited by Marc Miller with the staff of Cultural Survival, contains articles on Afghan Nomads by Thomas Barfield, Afghan Hindus & Sikhs & Hazarah of Afghanistan, both by Amin Tarzi. (See p. 28).

"A Tax Reform of the Afghan Amir Abd Al-Rahman Khan" by Amin Tarzi appears in the JOURNAL OF ASIAN HISTORY, Vol 27, #1, 1993.

Robert McChesney's WAQF IN CENTRAL ASIA: 400 YEARS IN THE HISTORY OF A MUSLIM SHRINE received an honorable mention at the annual Albert Hourani Awards ceremony at the 1993 MESA conference.

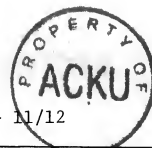
AFGHANISTAN: SONGS OF THE PASHAI is the title of a CD issued from the research collection of the Musee de l'Homme. The disc is distributed in the US & is available at record stores.

NYT Sunday Magazine 1/2/94



### WORLD'S DUMBEST DOG?

"The Intelligence of Dogs," by Stanley Coren, due out this spring from the Free Press, ranks 79 breeds in terms of their working intelligence. Coming in dead last, but with great hair: the Afghan hound.



## \$25 and Under | Eric Asimov

NYT - 11/12

Abdul B. Khan took enough pride in the Afghan-Persian restaurant he opened in April to give it his own name. And he made sure the restaurant lived up to the name.

The pride is evident in the simple but neat 28-seat storefront dining room, with its rich red carpet and single red carination on each small table. One long, mirrored wall helps brighten the otherwise dim room. The other long wall is adorned with small, handsome Persian rugs. It is also evident in the sweetly attentive service, in which a waiter offers to go down the block in a cold rain to buy beer. (Khan has no liquor license.) And it is evident in Mr. Khan himself, who not only does all the cooking but also makes frequent trips to the dining room to make sure all is well.

The food at Khan, a mixture of Middle Eastern dishes with accents from Mr. Khan's native Bangladesh, is reminiscent of Pami, the Upper East Side restaurant where he spent 10 years cooking before opening Khan. Dinner begins with a basket of excellent flatbread flavored with caraway seeds, like a focaccia given a Middle Eastern twist. The potato turnover (\$2.95) is another delicious analogue, ground potatoes mixed with onions, herbs and spices and pan-fried like an Eastern European potato pancake but served with a tart yogurt sauce rather than apple sauce or sour cream.

Kadu (\$2.95), a side dish, can be an unusual appetizer. The sautéed pumpkin topped with yogurt and a mild meat sauce tastes like a savory pumpkin pie. The falafel (\$3.25) were crisp, light and greaseless, and were served with a huge spread of cumini baba gannou. The meat-and-vegetable soup (\$2.95), a rich, complex tomato broth thickened by yogurt, was marred by canned vegetables.

Shirin palaw (\$9.95), chunks of tender lamb under a mound of saffron-flavored rice full of almonds, pistachios

### Khan Restaurant

564 Amsterdam Avenue, at 87th Street, Manhattan, (212) 721-8700.

Best dishes: Potato turnover, kadu, falafel, shirin palaw, couscous, kebabs, baklava.

Credit cards: All major cards.

Hours: 4:30 to 11 P.M. Mondays through Fridays, noon to 11 P.M. Saturdays and Sundays.

Wheelchair access: Entrance and dining room on one level; bathroom is very narrow.

and orange strips, is one of the most popular main courses, Mr. Khan said. It is best when the meat and the rice are eaten together; otherwise the rice by itself seems too sweet. Couscous (\$9.50) was fluffy and fresh, topped with chunks of boneless chicken in a nicely peppery tomato sauce.

Kebab is grilled but not dry, served with a huge portion of long-grain brown rice and grilled vegetables (\$9.50 chicken, \$9.95 beef, \$10.50 lamb). When Mr. Khan, checking on our table, was told that the seasoning was a little tame, he darted away and came back with a little pitcher of searing hot sauce and a dish of sumac, a tart Middle Eastern spice, which livened things up considerably. He ought to set them out as a matter of course.

Dessert is traditional but no afterthought. Rice pudding (\$2.95) is smooth and very sweet, flavored with ground almonds and pistachios and lemon. Best is a slice of the sensual baklava (\$2.95), very nutty and syrupy.

Khan is on Amsterdam Avenue several blocks north of a strip of trendy restaurants. No matter. Pride conveys an inner strength that transcends location.

of the Afghan embassy in Washington, cooking at the restaurant. He taught the young brothers how to prepare the elegant Afghan dishes they serve today at their restaurant.

In 1981, the brothers opened an Afghan restaurant in Bethesda, Md., a Washington suburb, that was a success from the start. But they were unable to resist the allure of California, and they entered the restaurant business here, first on the Peninsula, then in The City.

"To us, San Francisco meant California," says Ali Taheri with a laugh. "We drove by this site (at 2800 Van Ness) and it had a 'for lease' sign. We wanted it right away."

The restaurant is in a handsome Victorian that was formerly occupied by an Indian restaurant. The building is just past Lombard, heading toward the Bay, so it's easy for people from Marin to come to. (Parking is a little tight, but don't despair — valet parking is coming soon.)

When Kabul-West opened six months and one week ago business was slow, but soon an incredible thing started happening, according to Ali Taheri. People who ate there not only returned, but they brought friends. Word of mouth did the rest. Today it has a growing clientele and does a good business even on weeknights.

It's not hard to understand why. You enter into a spacious reception area (the kitchen is in the rear) and are led into one of three dining rooms seating a total of 100. There is a generous amount of space between the tables. The restaurant is swathed in handsome Afghan carpets and formal draperies. Tables are covered with white linen tablecloths and fresh flowers. Chairs are mahogany with white brocade seats.

San Francisco Examiner n.d.

## The succulence of the lambs

### Ewe'll love the charbroiled kabobs at Afghan-West

By Jim Wood  
EAT DRINK AND BE MERRY

KABUL-WEST, an Afghan restaurant at 2800 Van Ness Ave., serves what must be the finest lamb in town. It's really delicious, very tender with lots of flavor, the kind of meat where after each bite you pause a minute, just to enjoy the taste. I used to have a friend who was brought up on a Montana cattle spread. He swore that just the idea of lamb — which he called sheep — made him sick. If he had kabob-e-goushand at Kabul-West, I think he would have changed his mind.

The tender cubes of lamb are marinated in herbs and spices, charbroiled on a skewer and served with seasoned rice and a crisp green salad. Ali Taheri, who with his brother, Farid, owns this beautiful restaurant, says the lamb is from near Sacramento.

"People ask if it's New Zealand or something like that, but it's all California," he says. "We order

three or four times a week. And no, we don't use tenderloin or Accent or anything like that."

**T**AHERI SAYS WHAT makes the lamb so tender is an in-house natural marinade of yogurt and a little touch of olive oil, salt, and black and white pepper along with some fresh garlic. The lamb is put in the refrigerator overnight. The result is spectacular, the best lamb I've tasted in San Francisco since the days of Armen Balli, who brought international ballet superstars to her restaurant at Pacific and Battery serving lamb that she once told me was marinated in pomegranate juice. It was fabulous lamb and so is the lamb served at Kabul-West. (It is a mark of the meticulous service at Kabul-West that your server regularly asks if you would like the lamb removed from the skewers. Take my advice: Say yes. It makes the meal easier and more enjoyable.)

Do not, however, get the idea that Kabul-West serves only outstanding lamb. It has a full and varied menu with food so startlingly good, you almost drop your napkin. And the most expensive entrees on the dinner menu, lamb or

veal chops, are priced at \$16.95. Dinner entrees range downward from there to vegetarian eggplant for \$7.95. Luncheon prices are even lower, although portions are slightly smaller.

The Taheri brothers came to the United States almost 19 years ago to attend college in the Washington, D.C., area. To help with expenses they went to work in a

Georgetown restaurant, which to their good fortune had a former royal Afghan chef, an alumnus of

- **LOCATION:** 2800 Van Ness Ave. near Lombard Street
- **PHONE:** (415) 931-9144
- **HOURS:** Dinner, Monday-Thursday, 5:30 to 10 p.m.; Friday-Saturday, 5:30 to 10:30 p.m.; Sunday, 5 to 9 p.m. Lunch, Monday-Friday, 11:30 a.m. to 2 p.m.
- **CREDIT CARDS:** VISA, MasterCard
- **WHEELCHAIR ACCESS:** Yes
- **RESERVATIONS:** Yes
- **PARKING:** On-street and light. Valet service upon soon
- **AMBIANCE:** White linens, traditional carpets, drapes — this is a stylish place. It reminds me of authentic, upscale restaurants on the East Coast, but definitely not stuffy. A pleasant place to relax
- **SERVICE:** Friendly and helpful, deli-

nately on your side. And they know the menu, so don't hesitate to ask.

► **RECOMMENDED DISHES:** Any of the lamb; sautéed pumpkin topped with yogurt and meat sauce, turnover filled with leek, spring onion and herbs, cubed breast of chicken charcoaled on skewers, vegetarian dishes

► **UPSIDE:** An elegant restaurant with wonderful food at reasonable prices

► **DOWNSIDE:** This place is so good that when word gets around, it may be hard to get in

► **COST:** \$\$

► **COMMENT:** Go for it

The Examiner's price-rating system follows:

\$ Inexpensive (less than \$15 a person for dinner, exclusive of drink, tax and tip)  
\$\$ Moderate (\$15 to \$35 a person)  
\$\$\$ Expensive (more than \$35 a person)

## CHRONOLOGY

11/3 - Frontier Post:



11/4 - Fighting between Rabbani's & Hekmatyar's forces began again 3 days ago. Rabbani's supporters control much of the capital but Hekmatyar controls the outskirts.

11/5 - Asharq Al-Awsat (Saudi Arabia) - In an interview Gailani said that Kabul could not be taken by force. He also said that any division of Afghanistan would be a threat to the entire region (see p. 24).

11/7 - Asharq Al-Awsat - Hekmatyar invited all "al-Afghans" (Arabs who are fighting in Afghanistan) to join him in the southern part of Kabul (see 11/28).

11/12 - PT - A jirgah representing Maneri village in the NWFP has demanded that the Pakistan Gov't & the "Afghan Commissionerate" provide compensation for property occupied by Afghan refugees at Barakai Camp. Jirga members claim that the occupied land used to provide them with income but the refugees have deprived the owners of the revenue.

11/14 - PT - Rabbani & Benazir Bhutto will hold talks while Rabbani stops over in Islamabad on his way to visit Egypt.

11/15 - PT - Rabbani met with newly-elected Pakistan President Farooq Ahmed Khan Legari as well as with Prime Minister Bhutto. The Prime Minister urged Rabbani to "use his personal stature to heal the differences between the Afghan leaders." She promised economic support in the form of essential goods, road repair, medicine, books, telecommunications & uniforms. They discussed setting up a joint commission to establish & strengthen cooperation between the two countries, agreed to cooperate in narcotics control, & considered methods of preventing 3rd country's nationals from using their "soils" for the purposes of adverse propaganda. They also discussed the Afghan-Tajik border situation.

11/16 - Frontier Post:

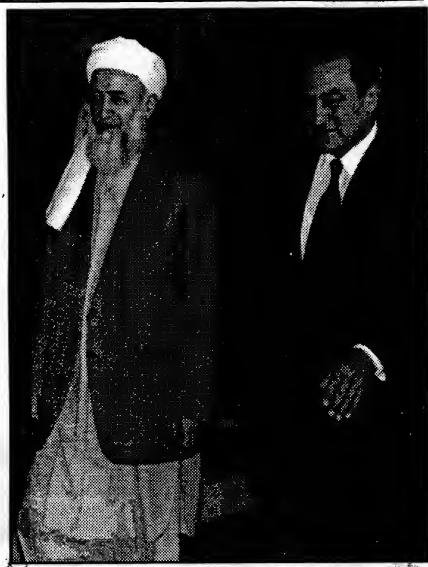


- Asharq Al-Awsat - Rabbani met with Egyptian President Mubarak in Cairo & signed a security agreement (See p. 10.)

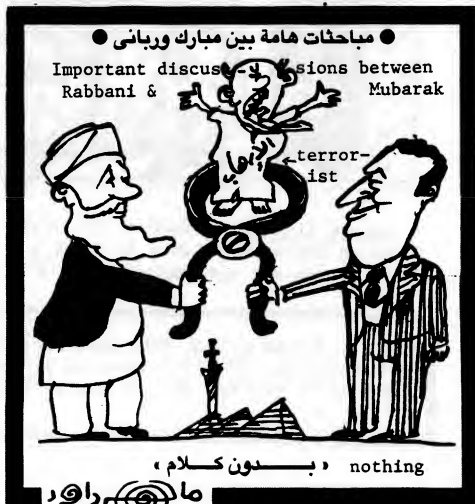
Henry A. Byroade, U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan from 1959-1962, died in Bethesda, Maryland on December 31. He was 80 years old.

11/16 - Asharq Al-Awsat (Saudi Arabia):

Rabbani & Mubarak



11/17 - Al-Ahram:



11/18 - PT - Fighting continued between Hekmatyar's & Masood's forces in Sarobi, Tagab, Narghlu & Band Nagh.

11/19 - PT - In the past 2 weeks, about 1,200 new Afghan refugees have arrived in Pakistan. Most are from Sarobi, Tagab & Kabul. Refugees from the same areas are streaming into Jalalabad.

11/25 - PT - Hekmatyar & Rabbani agreed on a ceasefire yesterday. "The roads will be open & the electricity will be restored." (See 11/30) - The UN reported that Najibullah, still in a UN office building in Kabul, was seriously ill. - The US is not succeeding with its buy-back Stinger program. Supposedly the US offered \$50m for 1 missile but the response was luke warm. That may be because there is no Afghan broker available because of threats from local commanders.

11/28 - Asharq Al Awsat - The US asked Pakistan to kick the 3,000 "Afghans" (Arabs) out of Pakistan saying that if it didn't, there would be repercussions. (See 11/7)

11/29 - FBIS from Kabul Radio [reported 12/2.] - A representative of the Italian Foreign Ministry met with Rabbani to express Italy's interest in Afghanistan & its readiness to reopen its Kabul Embassy & take part in reconstruction.

11/30 - FBIS from Kabul Radio [reported 12/2.] - The Presidency Consultative Council met to discuss the food shortage & the blockade of the highways around Kabul. The Council decided that a conference should be convened very soon to seek ways of getting out of the current situation in the capital.

12/2 - PT - The Bomb Disposal Service, set up 3 months ago under a UN contract, exploded 4 tons of live ammunition collected in & around Kabul in the last month.

12/9 - PT - The Afghan Air Force continued to bomb Hekmatyar supporters in the Tagab valley, east of Kabul. Rabbani's forces reportedly now control 90% of the valley & intend to continue the battle until they get control of Naghlu & Sarobi.

12/13 - PT - Dr. Wali Moh'd Rasuli, Deputy Communications Minister of Afghanistan, said that "the establishment of a firm democratic system in Pakistan is a source of inspiration & new hope for Afghanistan."

12/14 - PT - Rumored rifts between Hekmatyar & one of his deputies, Qazi Amin Waqaad (see p.25 ), & between Rabbani & Masood were vigorously denied by all parties.

12/17 - PT - Russian sources say Rabbani will make a 3-day visit to Tajikistan to sign a treaty of friendship & cooperation (see 12/24)

12/20 - PT - Pakistan's Foreign Minister Aseff Ahmed Ali plans to go to Kabul to explore means of bringing peace to the area. [The trip has been postponed until next month.]

12/23 - PT - Begum Nasim Wali Khan, a member of the NWFP Nat'l Assembly, took strong exception to the recent Pakistan Gov't decision to take over authority concerning permission for the supply of goods to Afghanistan. The Begum said that Afghan trade should be controlled by the NWFP Gov't.

12/24 - Mission of Afghanistan Press Release - Rabbani made an official visit to Tajikistan. The two sides signed a treaty of good neighborliness, economic cooperation, scientific & cultural cooperation, as well as a contract for the sale of Afghan natural gas to Tajikistan. A tripartite agreement between the two countries & the UN on Tajik refugee return was also signed. (See p. 17.)

1/2 - LA Daily News - The heaviest fighting in months rocked Kabul on Saturday as hundreds of rockets slammed into the city.

1/3 - WP - Rockets & automatic gunfire welcomed the new year in Kabul in a battle among 6 rival factions for the presidential palace & other strategic sites in the city. (For details see pps. 7-9.)

- ITN News reported that fighting in Mazar-i-Sharif forced the evacuation of some UN workers.

1/5 - WSJ - **Doctors in the Afghan capital appealed for medicine and blood to treat 1,700 people wounded in four days of fighting among Islamic factions. Infantry battles again erupted in Kabul between government troops and the forces of an ex-Communist general. At least 80 people have been killed since the clashes began.**

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Just as we finished this issue, we received a copy of a statement from the Embassy of the Islamic State of Afghanistan in New Delhi, giving its version of the recent fighting. Here is the gist of the 6-page report:

On Jan. 1st, 1994, at 5:00 a.m., the Dostum militia in collusion with Hekmatyar men made an abortive attempt to capture the presidential palace, radio & TV station & the Kabul Int'l Airport. The coup attempt spread shock waves across the country & in pursuance of a call given by Rabbani for a Jihad against the Communists & their allies, a country-wide Jihad has broken out against the Dostam militia & their allies.

Four jet fighters sent from Mazar to bomb Kabul landed at Bagram & the crew surrendered to Gov't forces. The crews of 3 other jets gave themselves up at Shindand. The Gov't captured the air base at Mazar; Defense Ministry planes bombed the runways. Gov't troops are on the offensive in Mazar, Jauzjan, Faryab & Badghis against the Dostum militia.

The Gov't offensive in the north is under the command of Gen. Ismail Khan, in the south, Gen Mula Naqeeb; in the center, Gen. Qari Baba; in Mazar, Gen. Moh'd Allam; in Badakhshan, Gen. Abdul Basir; in Baghlan, Gen. Abdul Hai Haqju; & in Kabul, Gen. Gada Moh'd. A small resistance is being put up by militia around Balla-e-Hissar.



January 2, 1994:

Gov't forces launched a crashing offensive on Dostum's bases in Mazar & have captured the silo & the Military Academy in the city. Some Wahdat leaders have denounced the coup & have assured that party's neutrality in the ongoing clashes. The 70th & 80th Divisions, made up largely of Sayyed Kaihan Party recruits, have declared their impartiality; some may be supporting the Gov't.

A part of Balla-e-Hissar has been captured by the Gov't. Supporting the Gov't are Yunus Khalis, Sayyaf, Nabi, & Mohseni. Gov't troops captured Sher Khan Bandar port in Kunduz. The Nangarhar Governing Council supports the Gov't.

January 3 & 4:

Dostum's militia has been uprooted in the Qaissar district of Maimana, the Kabul Int'l airport, the Kabelby, Yakatoot & Custom House areas of Kabul. Ismail Khan is continuing his sweep across northern Afghanistan.

January 4 & 5:

Dostum's militia has been forced out of Balla-e-Hissar but "a number of Hekmatyar militia who have replaced them are still exhibiting a tinge of resistance." 500 members of Dostum's militia, including 5 generals, have been captured in Kabul; Kunduz Province is now under Defense Ministry control; Paktia Governor Abdul Latif has declared his full support of the Gov't; Ismail Khan's forces have captured Maimana, & according to Defense Ministry spokesman, Dr. Abdullah, all Dostum militia has been cleared out of Wazir Akbar Khan, Dehmazang, Bagh Wahsh, Bagh-e-Babur, & Bibi Mahtu in Kabul.

"All sections of Afghan society, regardless of party affiliations, race, language, etc., have demonstrated their hatred to the perpetrators of the abortive coup which has resulted in huge life & material losses...& are condemning those mischievous & notorious elements such as Hekmatyar & his communist fellows like Gen. Dostum & Baryalai who have abused the General Amnesty granted to them despite their criminal past records & betrayals to the nation, & are now out to destabilize the Islamic Order in Afghanistan."

NYT - 1/9 - A 24-hour cease-fire took effect just after dawn yesterday to allow diplomats to leave Kabul. Two dozen foreigners, including 4 UN staff, left in convoys for Pakistan.



THE MUSLIM 11/16/93

# Scores Killed as Factional Battles Devastate Afghanistan's Capital

KABUL, Afghanistan, Jan. 2 (Reuters) — Factional battles raged for a second day in the Afghan capital of Kabul today, killing more than 70 people and wounding around 700, officials said.

Spokesmen for President Burhanuddin Rabbani called the figures a conservative estimate of the casualties from fighting that erupted at dawn on New Year's Day between Mr. Rabbani's forces and fighters led by Gen. Abdul Rashid Doestam.

The final toll in the fighting, the heaviest in sixth months, was expected to be much higher because the intensity of rocket and artillery fire made it difficult for families to take the dead and seriously wounded to hospitals. A survey of the city's hospitals put the number of casualties admitted in the 36 hours since the start of the battle at more than 670. Most casualties were civilians with shrapnel wounds.

## Jets Attack Ancient Fort

Jets from the presidential forces screamed overhead in a series of bombing raids on the ancient Bala Hissar fort to the south of the city, which is one of the main bases of General Doestam's fighters.

President Rabbani issued an appeal to other parties in the fractious Islamic coalition Government to join forces with him against the guerrillas, whom he accused of fighting for the cause of Babrak Karmal, a former Soviet-backed President who was a Communist.

Speaking from the presidential palace, which has been hit by a dozen rockets and shells in the past two days, the President called the fighting the latest phase of a holy war that could not be distinguished from the 14 years of civil war that rebel groups waged against the Soviet-installed Government that fell in April 1992.

## Smoke Rises Over City

Plumes of smoke spiraled above Kabul today as thousands of rockets, shells and mortar rounds fell, many missing their military targets and plowing into residential areas.

Machine-gun and small-arms skirmishes rattled through the city. Only taxis ferrying the injured to hospitals and a few tanks braved the streets. The erratic electricity supply was cut off. A few residents emerged from their homes, dodging rockets and shrapnel to buy bread at bakeries, the only shops that remained open. Rocket fire pounded hilltop positions held by rival groups around the city.

The city is divided into a patchwork of rival fiefdoms that have co-existed uneasily for months.

## Effort to Take Airfield

Roads were blocked by street battles between President Rabbani's and General Doestam's fighters, whose posts and checkpoints often stand almost



Afghanistan's worst fighting in six months struck Kabul.

side-by-side.

Abdul Aziz Morad, a spokesman for the President, said that the Government forces appeared to have gained the upper hand in some places.

But witnesses said neither side appeared to have gained much ground except at the airport.

President Rabbani's fighters were meeting pockets of resistance in their effort to capture the airport, which has been held by General Doestam's forces since he defected from the Communist forces to join the guerrillas, toppling the Communist Government in April 1992, Mr. Morad said.

He blamed General Doestam for starting the clash, the first between President Rabbani and General Doestam, who had been based in the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif, since the Islamic coalition took power.

A spokesman for Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hezb-e-Islami party said in neighboring Pakistan that all groups opposed to Mr. Rabbani were fighting the President.

Two shells hit the main military hospital, a rocket hit the operating theater of the Jamhuriat hospital and several rockets landed in the grounds of a third hospital. There were no immediate details of casualties.

Jamhuriat doctors, who said they had been working throughout the night to treat the flood of wounded, had moved the theater into the basement.

"For the sake of God we are innocent. Why are the armed men killing us?" wept one elderly man, hit by shrapnel, as he waited for treatment in a crowded hospital.

"We want them to stop fighting."

THE NEW YORK TIMES

JANUARY 3, 1994

# Afghan Planes Bomb Rebels

KABUL, Afghanistan, Jan. 4 (Reuters) — Government jets bombed positions held by fighters loyal to a northern faction leader today, and Government troops made advances in the southern part of Kabul, driving back rebel forces in fighting that turned to hand-to-hand combat in one area.

In four days of fighting between Government troops and forces loyal to Gen. Abdul Rashid Doestam, a faction leader backed by Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a rival of President Burhanuddin Rabbani, dozens of people have been killed and an estimated 1,700 wounded.

Fighting also reportedly spread around Mazar-i-Sharif, the northern provincial capital that is General Doestam's main base of operations.

A Health Ministry spokesman said that hospitals were running out of medical supplies, blood and even food.

Rockets and shells were fired on the city at the rate of about six or seven a minute for much of the day. Government jets screamed overhead in raids on the ancient fort of Bala Hissar, in southern Kabul, a main base of General Doestam's militia.

Government troops also drove General Doestam's fighters from the Kabul Zoo, another of their bases, and hand-to-hand fighting was reported in the Shoe Bazaar.

## U.N. Offices Hit by Fighting

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Jan. 4 — United Nations offices in Kabul and Mazar-i-Sharif have been damaged by the fighting in Afghanistan and United Nations personnel are being evacuated, a spokesman said today.

NYT 1/5/94

# Afghan Chief's Troops Gain

KABUL, Afghanistan, Jan. 5 (AP) — Forces loyal to Afghanistan's President took control of the airport today and appeared to be gaining ground in Kabul, the capital, in a fifth day of fighting with rival militias.

About 2,500 people, mostly civilians, have been wounded since fighting broke out on Saturday between President Burhanuddin Rabbani's forces and other Islamic factions, the International Red Cross and other officials and fighters say. About 80 people have been confirmed killed, but the death toll is believed to be in the hundreds.

Mr. Rabbani's army has retained control of the presidential palace and other strategic sites, and today his troops appeared to gain ground in the devastated capital. Warplanes bombed opponents of Mr. Rabbani on the city's outskirts.

The President won control of the airport after several battles with fighters loyal to Rashid Doestam, a former army general who joined forces with Muslim rebels to help oust a Communist government in April 1992 after 14

NYT - 1/6

years of civil war. The loss of the airport could make it hard for Mr. Doestam to supply his troops. The United Nations said it evacuated 11 employees from the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif, General Doestam's military headquarters, where the fighting has spread.

# Afghanistan Rings in the New Year With Heaviest Fighting in 6 Months

By JOHN-THOR DAHLBURG  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

NEW DELHI—Afghanistan's armed rivals rang in 1994 with the heaviest fighting in Kabul in more than six months, showering hundreds of rocket and artillery shells onto the divided, battered capital Saturday despite a cease-fire signed a week ago.

The two main hospitals in the city reported that eight dead and 250 injured had been brought in since the bombardment began at dawn, the British news agency Reuters reported. But heavy fighting prevented many injured from seeking assistance, and the total casualty toll was not known.

After first light, the rattle of firearms echoed through streets deserted save for tanks and armed men. Plumes of smoke marked the landing spots of shells and rockets, which rained down, especially heavily on northern and eastern neighborhoods of the city ringed by the rugged Hindu Kush.

In the year and a half since Muslim rebels took power from the Communists, internecine fighting in Afghanistan has left at least 10,000 people dead, many of them civilians. In Kabul, buildings and much of the infrastructure left unscathed by 14 years of civil war have been devastated.

The major combatants have been troops loyal to President Burhanuddin Rabbani and forces aligned with Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. In a statement released in the Pakistani border city of Peshawar, Rabbani claimed that Hekmatyar has now joined forces with Abdul Rashid Dostum, a powerful ex-Communist general, to try to oust him.

"The Communists want to undo the fruits of the jihad (holy war) fought by U.S.-backed Muslim insurgents against the Soviet-supported Najibullah regime, presidential spokesman Bahauddin Ziazi told the Associated Press.

That development could have serious implications indeed for Rabbani, for whom Dostum's support has been crucial. The general, with relatively few men and the handicaps of being an ethnic Uzbek and a former Communist to boot, has few chances to emerge as supreme leader.

But Dostum holds much of northern Afghanistan and is believed to be strong enough to bar anyone he opposes from winning control of the country. It was his eleventh-hour defection to the guerrillas that helped topple President Najibullah in April, 1992.

Dostum, based in the city of Mazar-i-Sharif, had ordered his troops to stay out of the bloodletting as rival factions in the guerrillas' coalition government warred for control of Kabul. But he was said to have given orders for an offensive after jets belonging to a Rabbani ally bombed his positions in northern Afghanistan on Friday.

Reports from Kabul said Dostum's fighters fired salvos of rockets and artillery shells from an ancient fort south of Kabul's center. Pro-presidential forces, meanwhile, shot back from a hilltop in a residential area.

At least three buildings were hit in the Soviet-built Microrayon

housing complex in the northeast of the city where many pro-Dostum families live. Since the fighting broke out, Kabul has been divided into a crazy quilt of neighborhoods held by rival factions.

Ziazi, the presidential spokesman, asserted that government soldiers captured 300 rebels, five tanks and Kabul's airport, formerly controlled by Dostum's fighters.

A spokesman for Hekmatyar, Haji Farid, said the onslaught was part of an Islamic rebellion against Rabbani's government. He claimed anti-presidential fighters had taken Kabul radio, the Finance Ministry, a strategic bridge on the outskirts of the capital and the central committee hall, next door to the presidential palace.

Neither side's claim could be independently verified.

The cease-fire announced by the Afghan Cabinet a week ago was the latest in a string of dozens of truce agreements that failed to hold.

Los Angeles Times

1/2/94

## Pakistan for peace in Afghanistan

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

ISLAMABAD, Dec. 19: The Government of Pakistan is awaiting a reply to the offer it has made to the Afghanistan Government for a peace mission to Kabul led by Minister for Foreign Affairs Sardar Asif Ahmed Ali, informed source said here today.

In the wake of fierce fighting in Kabul between warring mujahideen factions earlier this month Pakistan sought the desirability of helping the Afghan leadership in restoring the much needed peace and tranquility through its now well-established goodwill and good offices. The intensity of fighting, mainly between the forces of President Burhanuddin Rabbani and Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, was not only resulting in loss of innumerable lives but also large-scale damage to property.

An alarming aspect of the bloody fighting was that the food supplies had been adversely ef-

fected creating a famine-like situation in certain areas of fighting. The concerned United Nations agency has already warned the Afghan leaders of stopping the supply operations if the fighting did not end.

Pakistan, according to these sources, had made the offer of sending a peace mission after consulting Iran. In fact during Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's recent visit to Iran she had asked the Iranian Government to join the peace mission to Kabul. But the Iranian Government requested Pakistan to take the early steps towards bringing a grand reconciliation among the rival Afghan factions after which Iran would join the effort. Tehran had also approved Saudi participation in the peace effort.

Once the dates of Sardar Asif's mission to Kabul were fixed up between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Pakistan Government would once again get in touch with Tehran and seek its advice for the mission.

It would not be for the first time that Pakistan would be using its good offices to stop bloody factional battles in and around Kabul. Earlier this year when fighting intensified in Kabul area Pakistan sent a mission led by the then Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanju who was able to bring about a ceasefire. But it did not hold for long after his return to Pakistan.

Pakistan has since then been impressing upon the Afghan leadership through correspondence as well as personal contacts the desirability of the major Afghan factions to join hands and restore normalcy not only for political purposes but also for resuming at full speed the refugee repatriation and the task of national reconstruction, especially of the economic sector. Pakistan has told the Afghan leaders that a peaceful Afghanistan would open up new vistas of economic cooperation for the 10-member Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) which groups together the six Central Asian republics, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan.

Pakistani officials were expecting an early signal from Kabul about the dates of Sardar Asif's peace mission.

PT 12/20



PERMANENT MISSION OF THE  
ISLAMIC STATE OF AFGHANISTAN  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

# AFGHANISTAN

STATEMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
OF THE ISLAMIC STATE OF AFGHANISTAN  
3RD JANUARY, 1994

PRESS RELEASE

It is a crystal clear fact to the world community that the Muslim and Mujahed people of Afghanistan, by defeating the Soviet Red Army and expulsing them out of their homeland, put an end to the communist rule in Afghanistan. Many other countries in the region were inspired by the Jihad of the Afghan people and could finally throw off the yoke of communism and attain their right for self-determination.

The newly established Islamic State in Afghanistan, with strong faith to the Islamic tenets in pursuance of Prophet Mohamud (Peace be upon him) teaching and traditions, announced general amnesty so as to enable the people of Afghanistan to take part in the reconstruction of their motherland without any preoccupation fear about their life or property.

However, much to our regret, we witnessed that the remnants of the former communist regime in Afghanistan led by general Abdul Rasheed Dostum and Mohunood Baryalai, in connivance with the prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who once had fired thousands of deadly rockets on the Kabul city, under the pretext of the presence of Dostum's militia and of the remnants of communists in Kabul. He betrayed the cause Jihad and hatched a conspiracy to throw off the Government in Afghanistan by resorting to an abortive coup d'Etat at 05:00 Am, on 1st January 1994.

It was hardly expected by the Afghan leadership that the prime minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar who came to power at the cost of thousands of precious lives, comes into agreements with the communists led by Dostum, Moahunood Baryalai, Brother of Babrak Karmal, a hardcore communist. The communists, in particular, abuse the privilege of the general amnesty granted to them despite their deadly past records, and make such a surprising move to disrupt the Islamic order in Afghanistan and cause massive human and material losses to the innocent civilian people of Afghanistan in such a biting chill of winter only to quench their thirst for power and fulfill their ulterior motives.

The forces of the Ministry of Defence were quick to respond and take up appropriate counter measures and captured important strongholds of Dostum and Hekmatyar mainly in Chaman-e Huzury and Jad-e-Maiwand areas in Kabul. At present, some minor resistance are put up by the coup perpetrators around Balla Hissar Hilltops, which, God-willing, would soon be taken over by the Government forces.

The Defence Ministry forces have also inflicted heavy setbacks to the Dostumm Militia in Mazar-e-Sharif city and have taken control of the Air-Base and the Military Academy in the city. Four jet fighters had earlier defected from the Dostum Airbase in Mazar and had surrendered to the Government forces. Three others have also follow suite and have landed at Shindand Airbase, giving themselves up to the defence ministry troops stationed over there. Presently, the Dostum Militias are on the retreat and taking refuge with Hekmatyar Militias.

Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan on 1st January, 1994, called for Jihad Against the remnants of the communist regime in Afghanistan. The call has received a wide support from all quarters in Afghanistan, mainly Maulawi Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, Leader of the Harakat e Enqelab e Islami, Ayatullah Sheikh Mohammad Asaf Mohseni, Leader of Harakat e Islami Party, Prof. Aburab Rasul Sayyaf, Leader of Ettihad e Islami party, Maulawi Mohammad Yunus Khalas, leader of The Hezb e Islami party, the Governing Council of Nangarhar Province of Afghanistan and many others.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, deems such a move as a betrayal of the national interest of Afghanistan and consider it un-Islamic in every respect. The groundwork for such a major conspiracy had been laid out much in advance with the collaboration of the communists and other subversive elements. Thanks to the blessing and mercy of the Almighty, the conspiracy has completely failed.

[Editor's note:

The Mission has not received the Kabul Times for several months.

We have not received AFGHANews since October.]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs strongly denounces the abortive coup d'Etat against the Government in Afghanistan, inflicting irreparable human and material losses to the innocent civilian people and calls on all to voice their condemnation of the perpetrators of the shameless conspiracy.

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM

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**AFGHANISTAN FORUM, INC.  
201 EAST 71<sup>ST</sup> STREET, 2K  
NEW YORK, NY 10021**



#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

ACBAR	- Agency Coordinating Bureau for Afghan Relief
AIG	- Afghan Interim Government
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- Christian Science Monitor
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FBIS	- Foreign Broadcasting Information Service
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
ICRC	- Int'l Committee of the Red Cross
KT	- Kabul Times
LAT	- Los Angeles Times
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organization
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- New York Times
OIC	- Organization of Islamic Conference
PCV	- Peace Corps Volunteer
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PT	- Pakistan Times
PVO	- Private Voluntary Organization
RC	- Revolutionary Council
ROA	- Republic of Afghanistan
SCMP	- South China Morning Post
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNOCA	- United Nations Office of the Commissioner for Afghanistan [sometimes UNOCHA]
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WSJ	- Wall Street Journal

Line drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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Mary Ann Siegfried  
Editor & typist

Leonard Oppenheim  
Treasurer &  
proofreader

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